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JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J., PH.D., GENERAL EDITOR

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

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The PROTESTANT REFORMATION in GREAT BRITAIN

By
JOSEPH CLAYTON
F.R.Hist.S.

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PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR

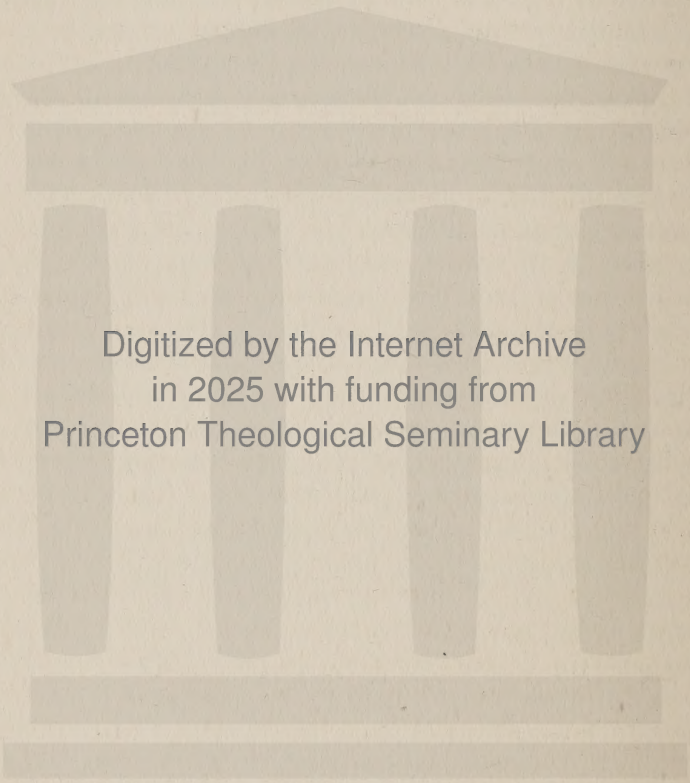
The purpose of this Preface is to afford the reader a more intimate introduction to the author of the present volume, the writing of which was undertaken for the Science and Culture Series in 1932, but the remote preparation for which extended through decades of years.

In a history dealing with events so profoundly significant to us as the subject here treated, we rightly desire to learn something more definite concerning the writer to whose guidance we entrust ourselves. Objectively, we wish to be assured of his own knowledge and understanding, while on the subjective side it is not enough that his candour and sincerity are obvious to us, we must also be reasonably able to exclude any likelihood that he has been swayed unwittingly by private interests or prejudice.

It is easy to deviate from the straight and narrow path of historic verity, and even honest men may unconsciously fail in this. Objective and subjective factors have together played regretful havoc with much of our history where religious topics have been touched upon, while lurid misconceptions of the Church have not seldom been accepted in apparently good faith, without any verification. Happily a new spirit has manifested itself in this respect in many quarters.

Unwonted watchfulness, however, is justly demanded from the writer of a book which would make its appeal to Protestants and Catholics alike, as an impartial history of the Protestant Reformation in Great Britain. It is this task precisely which the author has essayed in the present volume.

Mr. Joseph Clayton, F.R.Hist.S., is an Oxford man, an intellectual leader in the English labour movement of earlier years, and finally, a convert to Catholicism for well-nigh the last quarter of a century. His interest in social problems has never waned, and he has only recently been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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

We call it the Protestant Reformation — the change in religion that occurred in so many parts of Europe in the sixteenth century. In each land it took its own distinctive form. The one common ground of the reformers was the total rejection of the pope's supremacy, and the doctrine that man is justified by faith alone. In the present book no more is attempted than to give an introductory outline, and a plain, brief account of what happened in Great Britain; that is, in England, Scotland, and Wales. The history of the struggle in Ireland, of the wars of religion in France and Germany, of the establishment of Lutheranism in Scandinavian countries, of Calvinism in the Netherlands and in certain Swiss cantons, would take several volumes. In Italy, Spain, and Portugal, the Reformation never prospered.

The matter is surely of vital interest. How does it come about in this twentieth century that millions who profess themselves Christians are divided into numerous separate churches, not only outside the communion of the historic Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, but frankly distrusting the members of that Church and openly denouncing its doctrines? It seems quite certain that in the hearts of many both the fear and hatred of the Faith of Rome still exist, as they did in the sixteenth century.

And yet to account for that hatred, visible in men and women of good-will, and so inexplicable to Catholics; to explain that fear and distrust and give an adequate reason for the dislike, is not an easy matter for average intelligent non-Catholics, to whom the origins of Protestant churches are rarely an attractive study. It is often, no doubt, a prejudice inherited, a bias of family or environment, a complex or inhibition as the psychologists might call it, that hinders serious study of the Reformation period. Often, too, sheer

indolence or complete indifference is responsible for ignorance of history, as of other learning.

The importance of the truths of history, especially when these truths are concerned with the religious faith of mankind, can hardly be exaggerated. "Nothing is lost and much is gained by endeavouring to search out and face the truth of facts, no matter whether they be pleasant or unpleasant, whether they agree with our preconceived notions or contradict them." Neither for Catholic nor for Protestant are the facts of the Reformation pleasant reading for the most part, and the more we know of these facts the less do they confirm the story in the old, partisan, and hopelessly inaccurate, history books.

What was this Protestant Reformation or Revolt of the sixteenth century? Why did it happen? How did it come about? And when?

These are the questions that we must face and answer according to the knowledge we possess and in the spirit of truth. We dare not allow personal predilections to conceal what is distasteful, or to tamper with the witnesses. The student of history is not an advocate employed to win his case by suppressing evidence that may help the other side. He is not briefed for the prosecution or defence. Writers of history, or popular lecturers, who cease to be students, very soon cease also to be historians.

The historian is both judge and jury. He may be forgiven for drawing a wrong conclusion from the evidence set out in a long series of events. The unpardonable sin is to mislead others by a false description of the events. Even the most upright judge, aiming solely at a true and just summing up, may miss the point and fail to give a wise direction when the case is complicated, the witnesses contradictory, and perjury difficult to detect. An honest jury, with all the desire in the world to bring in the true verdict, may at times make a mistake, with the result that the innocent is unjustly condemned and the scoundrel acquitted. But the historian, at the best but human and liable to error, is not

to be excused for sticking to error when fuller knowledge supplies correction.

The truth of facts in the history of the Reformation in Great Britain are no longer in dispute. There is sufficient evidence for a general agreement as to what happened. It is on the significance of the facts, on the *how* and the *why* that we enter on controversy. When it comes to these questions of *why* the Reformation happened, and *how* it happened, prejudice and bias will wreck our best endeavours to declare and to receive the truth, unless we go carefully. We must be forewarned against danger, and constantly on our guard.

The old history books, written by men whole-heartedly Protestant, or by conviction anti-Catholic, made no pretence to set out the full truth. A definite theory of these writers approved the Reformation as an emancipation of the human soul, a movement towards liberty. Holding this theory as a demonstrated truth, like the law of gravity, they simply omitted as irrelevant all the facts that told against it. What has the historian left out? That is the first question to be asked in any examination of books concerning the Reformation.

And since some facts must be left out, for clearly no book can contain all that might be written down, the mentality of the writer will decide the omissions. Mr. Hilaire Belloc, for instance, in Volume IV of his *History of England,* being satisfied that the Reformation in England was just "loot" and "graft," the work of a few men of no strong religious convictions, but firmly determined to keep their plunder, omits all account of the effective preaching of the Lutheran doctrine by Latimer and other ex-Catholic priests. The ready acceptance of the Lutheran "new learning" by a minority of clergy and laity, shockingly ill-instructed in the "old religion," made it far easier for royal privy councillors to establish the reform.

Professor G. M. Trevelyan, again, in his *History of England,* following the "liberal" school, omits all reference to

the torture of Catholics under Elizabeth. He never mentions that the Mass — and it was the Mass that mattered — was by act of Parliament made a capital offence; that under Elizabeth the priest who said Mass and the layman who heard Mass were put to death. Dr. Frere, on the other hand, the learned Anglican bishop of Truro in his history of *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I,* is silent concerning the doctrinal change that took place when the "old religion" was proscribed and the papal supremacy denied.

No one simple cause can explain the Reformation, for the course of events did not run smoothly. Many causes contributed to the break-up of Christendom and many things assisted the overthrow of the Catholic Church in Great Britain.

The "when" of the Reformation has fewer difficulties. If we cannot fix exactly the hour when a period of history begins or ends, we can at least say that certain dates mark approximately the beginning and the end. Thought precedes action, and outlasts it. The date when a declaration is published or a treaty signed may serve conveniently for a landmark.

One thing may surely be affirmed of the Reformation: It was a time of temptation to men and nations. And the history of the Reformation is the story of how men and nations fared under temptation: a story of failure and weakness, of heroism, of misdirected energy, of high courage and many sorrows. If we are moved to anger by the crimes committed at the Reformation, we are also moved to pity by the suffering endured. It was a time of temptation, a time that tried men's souls. They were men and women like ourselves who in that time of temptation and tribulation, yielding or resisting, played their part to pass from the judgments of earth to the mercy of God.

Another thing may be affirmed. This Reformation was a masculine business, the work of men, and of young men, not of women. Queen Elizabeth, indeed, was the political instrument for establishing the reformed religion of the

Church of England, but Elizabeth displayed no zest for religion. Her piety was inconspicuous, her creed but vaguely formulated. Elizabeth, renowned as a political ruler, is not exactly a heroine in the conflict of the Reformation. Luther, Calvin, Zwingli are the names of the men who made the so-called reform on the continent. In Great Britain, Cranmer, Latimer, Knox, Ridley, Hooper, Parker, and Jewell represented the clergy; Thomas Cromwell, Protector Somerset, Cecil and Walsingham, the laity. No Mrs. Cranmer emerges from obscurity to support her husband, neither do the wives of John Knox appear as protagonists of the reform. The century of the Reformation was the century of St. Teresa, and of the foundress of the Ursulines. Is it possible to name any holy woman memorable for her services to the Protestant cause in that sixteenth century?

Sanctity, of course, is not the mark of the reformers. We no more look for sanctity — "Godliness" was their favorite word — in the leaders of the Revolt, than we do for sweet reasonableness in the heat of battle. Had they been holy and humble of heart these Protestant reformers would never have accomplished the overthrow of the "old religion." For the work which they did, force was required, the sword of the king's majesty and the might of civil government. It was a struggle for political power even more than a spiritual combat that was waged at the Reformation. The passions it aroused were fierce and pitiless. The will to uproot the old was far more resolute than the will to purge out the new.

Our sense of values will largely determine our verdict on the Reformation. That same sense will persuade us to the study or neglect of the causes and consequences of this tremendously critical period in the history of mankind. The period of the reform, it was called, of religion. Ethics and economics, philosophy and art were as profoundly affected as religion and politics by "what happened at the Reformation." To-day in a multitude of ways our conduct is decided by things done in the sixteenth century; our social beliefs are shaped by the Protestant doctrine of that century.

The absence of a common agreement among scholars

concerning the causes of the Reformation, and the failure to get a unanimous report on the consequences, are no ground for discouragement to the student of the period. Increase of knowledge compels the correction of mistakes and a fresh point of view. Science is continually refuting its former pronouncements, and demonstrating the falsity of its earlier conclusions. The Reformation is not the only series of historic events that challenges our prejudices and needs to be studied without conscious bias.

The cause of the revolt of the American colonies and the creation of the United States are still, for historians, subjects of lively discussion. The debate is by no means closed. Our unconscious minds make us argue for and against the truth of facts. On the executions of Mary, queen of Scots, and of Charles I of England vastly different opinions are expressed by historians. Different minds concentrate on different sets of facts, and unconscious prejudice powerfully influences the concentration. It influences no less the decision on the justice or injustice, the political wisdom or impolity of these executions. Indeed unconscious prejudice has often fixed our estimate of historical characters before we examine the evidence.

It is probable that patriotic prejudice may be as strong as the unconscious prejudice men may show for the faith of their fathers, the creed of their ancestors, and their cherished beliefs. Loyalty to party or family compels us to say "I cannot believe it," when first the discreditable story is told of persons dear to us and held in honour. "I cannot believe it" is apt to be our comment when first the true history of the Reformation with all its sordid details, its crimes and cruelties, is told. For the sorry tale is not the highly coloured version of exalted humanity that formerly passed for history. Unconsciously we resent the truth that upsets all our happy images, unconsciously we strive to exclude the truth from our minds, to close our eyes more securely, though the facts are all too staring and plain.

But we are bound to serve the truth. "Truth has many

admirers but few servants," wrote Father Dudley Ryder, Cardinal Newman's friend. Ignorance in the long run will undo us all. The more we understand what happened at the Reformation, the more we can understand how things occur to-day; and to understand the ground of the divisions and differences of the Christian peoples of God is the first step towards the healing of those divisions.

Besides, it is discreditable to the intelligence that Catholics should be ignorant of the great crises in the history of the Church, that Protestants should know nothing of their own ancestry and its beginnings. Thousands of Catholics are content to dismiss the Reformation as a mere revolt, nothing more than the rebellion of bad men inspired by greed and moved by the devil to overthrow true religion. Thousands of Protestants complacently regard the Reformation as a great awakening, a glorious work, blessed by God and carried out by good men divinely inspired.

Now, obviously both these judgments cannot be true. And indeed neither is true, for both are fancy pictures, painted in good faith but falsely drawn for want of knowledge. Ignorance and prejudice are responsible — rarely deliberate falsehood — for the errors, and the nonsense, that pass for history with many who are just too lazy to seek the truth.

The Reformation was a time of temptation, a sifting time. Its history is a record of victory and defeat, of loss and gain, of sublime heroism and shameful degradations. It tells how men and women fared in the stress of temptation, and sets down some of the results of the new doctrine that spread from Europe throughout the world.

History is not without its uses. The history of religion and of religious change is not without its counsels of hope and warning.

It is commonly said that the writer of history is always biased. So he ought to be. But let the bias for writer and reader alike be to truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Then secret prejudice will be as powerless to deflect the mind of the writer to false witness, as to deprive the reader of patience.

This short history, in fine, is but an outline of events. The reader must seek in the books named as "authorities," both a fuller account and the justification for statements of fact.

J. C.

Chipping Campden,
Glos., England.

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THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

Chapter I
INTRODUCTORY: THE NEW DOCTRINE

Summary

The Protestant Reformation was the break-up of Christendom ✦ Luther's protest against indulgences ✦ doctrine of indulgences and abuse of doctrine ✦ Luther's assurance of justification by faith alone and break with the papacy ✦ support in Germany ✦ the Lutheran confession of faith ✦ Calvin's repudiation of papal authority and his congregation at Geneva ✦ doctrine of Calvin ✦ how explain the success of Luther and Calvin? ✦ no precedent for setting up a new church ✦ the papacy in ill-repute in the sixteenth century ✦ causes of this depression ✦ growth of nationalism ✦ sovereignty of the state ✦ influence of the renaissance ✦ ignorance and indifference within the Church, yet also much sanctity ✦ the subjective mind drawn to the "new learning" ✦ a time of temptation.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY: THE NEW DOCTRINE

The Protestant Reformation began in Germany with Martin Luther's denial of papal authority. A few years later, and Zwingli, in Switzerland, was in revolt at Zurich. Ten years more and Calvin, a young French lawyer, was persuaded that the Church of the papacy was no true church. By that time Luther's "new learning"[1] had spread to England, to be pondered gravely at Cambridge.

An outline of the position in Europe is necessary, a sketch of the general occasion for revolt, as well as of the particular and contributory causes for the break-up of Christendom — for such was the Reformation.

For four hundred years now Christendom has been divided. Men and women for whom the Christian religion and the Catholic faith alike are of small account can approach with sympathetic mind the study of the Reformation. The approach is perhaps still more favourable when the student believes that a gain in diversity of opinion far outweighs the loss of Christian unity. But the many who hold that the unity of all Christian people in "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," is divinely ordered, can hardly study the Reformation and its causes without feelings of regret.

Whether our prejudice be favourable or unfavourable, we can agree that in the sixteenth century Christian unity was broken as never before in the history of the Church. Heresy

[1]This expression, the "new learning," has produced considerable confusion. Its proper meaning is the "new doctrine," and in this sense it is used by contemporary writers. But many modern authors apply it to the revival of Greek and Latin scholarship and talk of Erasmus, Colet, More, and Fisher as supporters of the "new learning." This results in misunderstanding. For the doctrine of Luther was anti-pathetic to these men, and the propaganda of Luther exceedingly distasteful.

and schism had been plentiful from the earliest centuries. The Eastern Churches stood outside the papal dominion. But the Reformation was the deliberate rejection not only of the pope's authority, but of all authority in matters of religion that could not be assured by passages in the Bible. It was this claim of sole authority for the Bible that made the Protestant Reformation unique.

The Reformation then was the break-up of the unity of Christendom. In place of One, Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, ruled by the pope as the vicar of Christ on earth, with its members throughout the world professing one creed, acknowledging one discipline, and enjoying one common form of worship, the Sacrifice of the Mass, there now came into being a number of national churches and local congregations, generally called Protestant, separated from the communion of the Holy See, and divided from one another.

With the passage of the centuries these national churches and local regional congregations have increased and multiplied, have thriven and decayed. The Catholic Church, Holy, Roman, and Apostolic, remains. The pope is still its earthly ruler, still reverenced as the vicar of Christ; the Mass is still its central act of worship.

How did this rejection of the pope's authority come about, this denial of the Sacrifice of the Mass and of the old sacramental system of the Catholic Church? Why, for the first time in the history of Europe, did Christian men in various places decide to build up a new church on the ruins of the old? And how and why did they succeed in so novel and startling an enterprise?

Demands for Church reform had been common enough throughout the Middle Ages. Popes, bishops, and kings had themselves played conspicuous parts in the renovation of the Church. Within the Church the papacy and its monetary exactions had been subjects of grave protest over and over again. What may be called the anti-clerical mind had been exhibited not only in the writings of the English Wycliff and William of Occam, but in the Italian Marsilius of Padua.

There were many customs in the Church that troubled good men, many corruptions that shocked the faithful. But it never occurred to critics of the papacy, or to satirists of the clergy, that a new church could be established in place of the old; that the One, Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, whatever the failings of its members, was not the Church that Christ had left on earth; that it was desirable (or possible) for single persons or groups of persons to start new churches and draw up new creeds and catechisms without commission, without authority, on their own initiative, and on their own responsibility.

That is why it seems altogether inaccurate to talk of Wycliff and others as forerunners of the Reformation. Not only is there no argument for a new church in the writings of the pre-Reformation reformers, but the essential doctrine of Luther, the doctrine that all Protestants fastened on — that man is justified by faith alone — is hardly a Wycliffite doctrine. We can no more name the forerunners of Martin Luther than we can identify the predecessors of St. Francis of Assisi or St. Ignatius Loyola.

Luther, at a particular hour in the history of mankind, struck the note of revolt, and there was at once a considerable response.

Forty years on, and that series of events, which begins with Luther's first challenge, closes with the Treaty of Peace of Augsburg, with the declaration that the sovereignty of the ruler decides the religion of his subjects: *cujus regio ejus religio.* By that time it was plain to all that the unity of Christendom was broken utterly, and that a strange and portentous thing had happened; men had taken it upon themselves to overthrow the old Church and build a new one. To rebuild, not on the old foundations, but on fresh sites and with fresh plans.

In the year 1517, Martin Luther, aged thirty-four, an Augustinian monk, suspecting nothing of the tremendous events to come, published, after the fashion of theological disputants, ninety-five theses at the university town of Wittenberg, where he was professor. All that we know of Luther in his earlier years reveals a scrupulous, anxious-

minded man, oppressed frequently by a morbid conscience, uneasy in his religious life. To such a man, doubtful at times of his eternal salvation, conscious of violent impulses and strong passions, there came suddenly the conviction, derived from much brooding over the epistles of St. Paul, that this state of uncertainty was wrong. Man could be sure of heaven if only he felt that God had forgiven him. If he but had faith that he was justified and saved by the merits of his Saviour, then saved he was. With this thought he allowed himself to be swept away. "Man is justified by faith alone, through the merits of Christ being attributed to the sinner." So Luther laid down the vital doctrine of the new evangelical church.

Not that Luther perceived at the time the full implications of his new doctrine; but it gave him personally the assurance he needed, and it delivered him from scruples. Convinced that he was saved and that, whatever he did, nothing could shut him out of heaven, Luther went ahead, teaching this justification by faith alone at Wittenberg and insisting on the secondary importance of good works; since to feel that the death of Christ was effective was the one thing necessary.

Then came the controversy over indulgences, the attack on Tetzel the Dominican, the publication by Luther of his ninety-five theses, and the beginning of troubles.

The trade in pardons, otherwise called "indulgences," was a public scandal. The facts are indisputable. The doctrine of indulgences was not the scandal, it was the employment of this doctrine for the purpose of raising money that provoked criticism. For more than two hundred years the pardoner of *Piers Plowman* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales,* had been enjoying himself at the expense of simple people, and not till the Council of Trent (1563) was he finally suppressed, and the granting of an indulgence on the payment of alms forbidden. The doctrine itself that "the power of conferring indulgences was granted by Christ to the Church and she has, even in the most ancient times, used this kind of power, delivered to her of God" was reaffirmed

at Trent, and pardons or indulgences are now granted to the faithful more abundantly than ever.

Briefly stated, the doctrine of indulgences[2] demands that man must do penance for sin; that with contrition, confession, and amendment, there must be satisfaction. Forgiveness did not remove the obligation to do penance. The indulgence or pardon was to be gained in the later Middle Ages by various good works, the building of a necessary bridge for example. The popes, too, granted indulgences, i.e., they promised pardon and remission of temporal punishment for sins to penitents who took part in the crusades, supposing always the other necessary conditions. The next step was the gaining an indulgence by proxy; that is, by a money payment which would let others do the good work, by sending a subscription to a good cause, as we should do to-day. Pope Leo X, wanting money for the building of St. Peter's at Rome, decided on the grant of an indulgence, and the grant was farmed out.[3] Tetzel, a Dominican friar, was appointed by the prince-bishop of Mainz to preach this indulgence throughout his territory; all who responded with a contribution to the pope's appeal received the indulgence and were assured, being penitent, of pardon and remission of the punishment for sins.

Luther, increasingly possessed by the feeling that he was justified by faith alone and already pardoned by the merits of Christ, hated this trade in pardons. What would simple people make of it but the belief that with money you could buy God's forgiveness? What did the pope and his agents care as long as the money was raised? Luther, it may be added, had visited Rome on business of his priory, and the pagan outlook of much that he saw in the Eternal City had schocked him as it shocked Erasmus. Without questioning the truth of the doctrine of indulgences, Luther attacked

[2]In the fuller development of the doctrine the grant of an indulgence was made from the "treasure of the Church," from the merits of the saints and the infinite merits of Christ.

[3]Peter's Pence was farmed out as early as the twelfth century, bishops undertaking to send so much to Rome from their dioceses and keeping for their own needs all above that amount.

directly the methods used in the disposal and sale of pardons, and so won immediately, on economic grounds, sympathy and support from his fellow-countrymen. Why should Christian people in Germany be drained of their wealth to support a papal power hostile to their emperor in politics, to gratify the artistic tastes of popes who did nothing to reform abuses in the Church, who cared nothing for the religious welfare of Christendom? So the talk went when Luther's ninety-five propositions of Wittenberg were discussed.

Pope Leo X, no more forseeing the future than Luther did, and not imagining that new Christian churches could spring into existence outside the papal dominion, thought lightly of the reports from Wittenberg. Being of the aristocratic family of the Medici, Pope Leo had a poor opinion of any theses by a German monk; besides, many of the ninety-five propositions, it seemed, were erroneous. The unrest in religion and the deep disaffection that Luther voiced could not be realized. It was still the era of the Renaissance and revival of classical studies in Rome, with Cicero rather than St. Paul at times the favourite author in the Vatican circle of pope and cardinals.[4] That a young Augustinian monk, in an outlandish German university, should obstruct the necessary work of raising money for St. Peter's was simply impertinence. But the papal authorities had no desire to show harshness — this Dr. Luther had friends among German princes. Nor till 1520 did the pope's bull, condemning various propositions in the Wittenberg manifesto and requiring submission within two months, reach Luther. By that time Luther had gone too far in his attacks on the

[4]Erasmus describes a Good Friday sermon he heard preached in Rome before Pope Julius II. "The orator's design was to represent to us Jesus Christ, at first in the agony of His passion and then in the glory of His triumph. To do this he recalled the memory of Curtius and Decius who had given themselves to the gods for the salvation of the republic. He reminded us of Cecrops, of Menelaus, of Iphigenia and of other noble victims who had valued their lives less than the honour and welfare of their country. . . . The orator went on to compare our Saviour, who had deserved so well of His country, to Phocion and to Socrates, who were compelled to drink hemlock though accused of no crime; to Epaminondas, driven to defend himself against envy roused by his noble deeds; to Scipio and to Aristides, whom the Athenians were tired of hearing called the 'Just One,' and others." (Quoted by Gasquet in *The Eve of the Reformation.*)

papacy to recede. The doctrine of justification by faith alone so possessed him that the whole Catholic system appeared untrue.

From attacking the abuse of indulgences Luther turned to denounce the doctrine of indulgences and to deny valid authority to the acts of the Holy See. The papal bull was burnt by a crowd of university students with all the jollity of undergraduate high spirits. Hatred of the papacy and unquenchable rage against the pope mark henceforth all the controversial writings of Martin Luther. The pope was no ruler or guide for Christian men, for the pope neither in faith nor morals had any authority from God to state the truth. The primacy of the pope was not and never had been of divine institution. Not in general councils of the Church, but in the Sacred Scriptures, were the truths of the Christian religion established. Finally, the real authority for every man was in the individual conscience.

For twenty-five years more did Luther live; to see the revolution accomplished, the unity of Christendom broken, and new churches, marked by no uniformity in creed or discipline, created all over northern Europe. Luther himself never arrived at any clear theological position on a number of disputed points, and his disciples were left to draw up their own forms of public worship. But on the doctrine of justification by faith alone, "the certain belief that God, for the sake of Christ's sacrifice, will not hold our sins against us" Luther never wavered. It was a belief that gave him both self-confidence and the assurance he needed when gusts of doubt and depression swept him. *Sola fides justificat.* No Christian soul was lost unless it ceased to believe it was saved — so the gospel of Martin Luther declared.

Justification by faith alone became the one common and central doctrine of the "new learning" in religion. The sacrifice of the Mass, with the priesthood that offered the sacrifice; the invocation of Our Lady and the saints; pilgrimages and penances, and all the good works of the "old religion," were cast aside when the Lutheran doctrine was accepted. The old Latin service was everywhere dis-

carded by Protestants, and forms of public worship in the common tongue were drawn up. The rites and ceremonies that had grown up with the Church, and were part and parcel of the life of Catholic Christendom, were now made to appear vain and empty trifles. The triple vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, that belonged to all members of the religious Orders, were declared null and void. Luther himself married publicly a Cistercian nun, Katherine von Bora, in 1525; and against the celibacy of clergy and consecrated women the zeal of Protestants[5] was fiercely directed. The papacy, the Mass, the regular life within monastery and convent — these three provoked Luther's unceasing attack. Wherever the new doctrine found acceptance the same three things were attacked. And down to the twentieth century the attack is still always on monasteries and convents when an anti-Catholic government assumes power. Similarly the Mass and the pope remain the chief stumblingblocks to non-Catholics, as they were the prime objects of attack to the first Lutherans.

The individual conscience was now declared the sole authority, and the Bible the sufficient guide for evangelical Christians. According to the Lutheran teaching, every spiritually-minded Christian would find the doctrine of justification by faith alone plainly revealed in the New Testament, and the rule of salvation clear. Therefore, to give any attention to tradition was superfluous. Since all Christians of true faith had the spirit, and understanding, and the mind of Christ to interpret the Bible for themselves, why should preference be given to interpretations by popes, who perhaps had neither understanding nor the spirit of God?

When Luther appealed from the papacy, from tradition,

[5]The word *Protestant* is not used before 1529. It has no doctrinal significance and was at first merely applied to the Lutheran minority at the German Diet of Spires. This minority made its protest against the policy of mutual toleration and the term Protestant came to be applied to all who adhered to the "new learning." But the German Protestants called their church "evangelical"; Calvin at Geneva established his "reformed" church. In England the official title was "Church of England." In the United States the church of the Anglican communion is entitled "Protestant Episcopal."

from the authority of general councils, from the very idea of a living Church guided through the centuries by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, to the Bible and the Bible only, as the director of conscience, he did not carry all Germany with him, but many princes, clergy, and lay folk responded to the appeal. None of the existing German translations of the Bible had the popularity of Luther's translations.

With this unregulated and unguided Bible-reading came, of course, an immense variety of beliefs. Sheer diabolical perversity, Luther considered it, when illiterate persons discovered in the Bible doctrines quite alien to his own. Men had but to look into their hearts for the conviction of sin, he maintained, and learn from certain passages in the New Testament that they were freed from sin by the sacrifice offered once for all by Christ upon the cross. But instead of being content with this new evangelical doctrine, new Bible readers were denying that children should be baptized and questioning the benefits of the Lord's Supper. The evangelical religion left local churches free to retain or reject numerous forms and customs in Christian worship, it allowed wide liberties. The more intolerable was it to Luther that these liberties not only produced savage discords but degenerated into appalling moral disorders.

The revolt from Rome, instigated and led by Martin Luther, favoured by a number of divines, approved by princes and nobles who possessed themselves of church property, was followed by revolts against the nobles and against the evangelical churches. Luther raged against the vagaries of private judgment, against peasants in revolt against their lords, against the anarchism of Anabaptists even as he raged against the papacy. He was quite unable to bring into one mind the warring and contentious groups of Protestants.

Indeed Luther himself, for all his theological training, was too vague in his own mind to give a positive body of divinity to his followers. That the Mass was no sacrifice and must be abolished, he insisted; but to the belief that there was a real presence of Christ in the sacrament, Luther clung.

Transubstantiation he flatly denied; but he denied no less emphatically the doctrine Zwingli preached in Switzerland: that the sacrament was nothing more than a commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ and an assurance of redemption. On the question of episcopacy Luther, in the very year of his excommunication, put the case for Protestant ordinations in his rough and ready way: "should a little company of pious Christian laymen be made prisoners and carried away to a desert, with not a priest ordained by a bishop among them, and should they agree to elect one of themselves, married or unmarried, and to order him to baptize, to celebrate the Mass, to absolve and to preach, this man would be as truly a priest as if all the bishops and all the popes had ordained him."

In fact, Luther saw no divine command in the New Testament for the ordination of priests by bishops, themselves consecrated by bishops, and these in turn similarly consecrated, until so the succession can be traced back to the age of the apostles. This apostolic succession of clergy, through an episcopate, Luther dismissed as unessential. Not unwillingly, in the absence of any more suitable person and on the authority of the Elector, did Luther himself consecrate a bishop to the see of Naumburg, in 1540.[6] When Lutheranism was made the official religion of Sweden, bishops were retained in that country. But in Germany an episcopate was soon abandoned.

On both these matters of debate among Protestants — the doctrine of the Eucharist and the usage for the ordination of ministers — Luther, then, allowed full liberty of conscience. What exactly was the faith here, his fluid mind never affirmed. He remained undecided, content to allow wide variety of opinion. That the validity of ordinations in no way depended on an historic episcopate, all Protestant reformers were agreed; as they were agreed that the doctrine

[6]In similar fashion, though without the authority of the civil government, the Anglican clergyman John Wesley, in the eighteenth century, consecrated the first bishops of the American Methodist Church.

of an apostolic succession was unscriptural and therefore untrue.

The energy of Martin Luther created the revolt. But it was the skill of Luther's distinguished disciple, Melanchthon, that organized the evangelical churches in Germany and set up schools and seminaries for the new doctrine. Melanchthon[7] moderated and restrained the Lutheran revolution. While he differed from Luther on the question of free will, yet after he had passed from Catholic unity, Catholic doctrine, and Catholic usages, he accepted in other respects to the full the Lutheran confession of faith.

The defined Lutheran faith may be studied in the general agreement called the Confession of Augsburg (1530). The ancient creeds of the Church known as Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian, were taken as the basis of Christian belief, since Luther and all the chief Protestant reformers were entirely loyal to the Catholic doctrines of the divinity of Christ and the Holy Trinity. The Mass, the sacrament of penance, the doctrine of purgatory, the celibacy of ministers of religion, and all vows of chastity taken by monks and nuns, were distinctly repudiated. A doctrine of "consubstantiation" — that Christ was present, but that the bread was still bread — was declared to be the true teaching concerning the Sacrament of the altar. Ministerial appointments to churches remained in the hands of patrons and were not left to the choice of congregations. The supremacy of the civil authority was frankly acknowledged, and when, twenty-five years later, peace came to a land distracted by wars of religion, it was by the formula *cujus regio ejus religio*. A Catholic ruler over Catholic subjects, a Protestant over Protestants. Hence it was that, when the rulers of Scandinavia became Protestant, the people of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden must needs also turn Lutheran. Generally, Germany was pacified by the recognition of Lutheran-

[7]Melanchthon's real name was Schwartzerd, "black earth," but, as it was the fashionable conceit of continental scholars to take a Latin or Greek name, in place of their own, and as he was called to be professor of Greek at Wittenberg, he preferred the Greek form of "black earth."

ism in the northern states of the Empire and of Catholicism in the southern.

Zwingli, a secular priest, and Martin Bucer, a Dominican — the former at Zurich, the latter at Strasbourg — renouncing their priesthood and marrying, became leaders of the new learning in their respective cities, and men of considerable influence on the Protestant movement in England. Zwingli was never a Lutheran. He detested the vagueness of Luther's sacramental doctrine and would leave nothing standing that showed continuity with the old pre-reformed Church. By the agency of the civic rulers, not only were all images and statues destroyed in the Zurich churches, but even the very organs pulled down lest the familiar music might recall the ancient service. Luther himself, it may be stated, had far too great a love of music to encourage any such destruction of organs. In fact the success of Lutheranism was in no small measure due to the popular hymn singing.

Bucer, like Zwingli, also differed from Luther in the sacramental doctrine.

It is John Calvin to whom next to Luther belongs the chief leadership in the Reformation. Calvin was the younger of the two. He was but twenty-five when he accepted the new doctrine, in 1534 — the same year that Ignatius Loyola and certain companions took their vows at Montmartre. Rejecting belief in ordination and turning away from his native land, he was to become in a few years the autocrat of Geneva, and to give to Protestantism its textbook in the *Institutes of a Christian Man.*

John Calvin had been brought up a Catholic and educated at the expense of the cathedral chapter of Noyon, who presented their promising scholar with benefices to pay for his university courses at Orleans and in Paris. He was a Frenchman of Picardy and a graduate in law. Gifted with the legal mind, he was impatient of the vagueness of the German formularies, and with Luther's mutable and uncertain decisions. At twenty-five Calvin was satisfied that the Catholic Church, in which he had grown up, was no

true church; the canons of Noyon, who had found the money for his university career, no true Christians; that Luther was right in sticking to justification by faith as the central and saving doctrine, that the Mass was an idolatry, and all that could not be proved in the New Testament was to be discarded from Christian belief.

For Calvin as for Luther, and for the disciples of the Protestant apostolate in every land, the Bible was man's infallible guide in faith and morals. But the confusions and contradictions of the evangelical religion, the bitter controversies aroused among Protestants on matters of doctrine and discipline, the extravagant heresies and vicious practices of Anabaptists, the wide laxity in morals that accompanied the exodus from the obedience of Rome, convinced Calvin that a clear and definite exposition of the faith of Protestants was what Europe needed. Private judgment had proved itself very liable to error; therefore it must be guided and restrained in its interpretations of the Sacred Scriptures. "Every person stands in need of some guidance and direction in the matter of finding the doctrine of the holy scriptures," wrote Calvin. So the young French lawyer produced his masterly work, the *Institutes of a Christian Man.* Originally addressed to the French King, Francis I, as a remonstrance against the punishments inflicted on his Protestant subjects, it received fresh additions and was not finally completed till 1539. On the *Institutes,* the Protestants of Holland and Scotland built up their Calvinistic churches, and the book had a long and heavy influence in directing the minds of French Huguenots and English Protestants.

At Geneva, with a city council that ruled absolutely and compelled obedience to the decrees of the church assembly, Calvin was given the opportunity to create his church of the reform, to inaugurate the discipline of the *Institutes.* The result was "the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on the earth since the days of the apostles." So at least John Knox, Calvin's distinguished follower, affirmed, after his visit to Geneva. Not that all the city agreed by any means with this verdict. Many of the inhabitants of Geneva felt as

an unendurable tyranny those years of Calvin's rule when no Catholic was allowed to reside in the city. The political opponents put to the torture in the Geneva prisons; Servetus, the wandering heretic from Spain, taking refuge in Geneva and burnt at the stake for denying the doctrine of the Trinity; these and many others found it no "perfect school of Christ," this dictatorship of the young French lawyer in a place that had revolted from the rule of a Catholic bishop.

Calvin had his enemies within the churches of the reform, for it was a grievance to the more Lutheran and liberal-minded that the body of doctrine and discipline contained in the *Institutes* should prevail wherever Calvin's disciples had the control of religion.

The new model for the ordination of ministers in the reformed church is a plain device. The call to preach the word of God — for preaching is the first duty of the Protestant minister, as the administration of sacraments is the special function of Catholic priests — must come from the congregation. Bishops are unobjectionable, provided they are regarded as no more than overseers, and the laying on of hands by elders, on the minister duly called, is an entirely appropriate ceremony. Though Calvin himself preached in Geneva and elsewhere, he never felt constrained to receive any laying on of hands.

A revised formula was presented concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but Calvin stands nearer to Luther than to Zwingli in his doctrine. The reception of Christ in the sacrament was spiritual, and spiritual alone; but it was real. To the faithful believer the sacrament was a means of grace. For grace was received in the very meeting together in obedience to the commands of Christ. No words of consecration produced a change in the bread and wine, or brought Christ to the recipient; and to prevent any mistaken reverence for what were merely outward signs, the sacrament, according to the Calvinistic rite, must be taken sitting and not kneeling.

But the most potent dogma of the Calvinistic theology was that God's absolute sovereignty left no room for man's

free will; God having from all time predestined His elect for eternal salvation and all the rest of mankind to everlasting damnation. Grace was given to God's elect, and the elect had no choice but to receive it. Under no circumstances, and no matter how they sinned, could God's elect forfeit heaven, because they were predestined to salvation. The non-elect, on the other hand, being doomed to hell, could not avert their doom however well they behaved. And the non-elect were the overwhelming majority; for the wrath of God so ordered it. This terrifying doctrine, and it was a doctrine that did terrify the children of Calvinistic parents right down to the nineteenth century, was declared fundamental dogma in the churches of the reformed religion. Its acceptance was demanded of all church members. On the complete and unique authority of the Bible it was required to be believed.

Accepted this dogma was. And since all but the elect were doomed to hell and all outside the Calvinistic church were of the non-elect, it was believed that the campaign against Catholics must be waged as vigorously as possible. In the spirit of the Israelites warring against their early enemies in Palestine the Calvinists fought their battles in France, in Scotland, and in Holland. Their political antagonists were the enemies of the Lord of Hosts. The words of the Psalmist: "Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered," was a battle cry of Calvinistic Puritans, a cry uttered by Oliver Cromwell on the eve of one of his greatest victories.

Calvin announced that he had the authority of the Bible for this dogma of man's predestined reprobation. In reality not only were certain isolated texts in the Old and New Testaments quoted to prove the dogma true, but passages in the works of St. Augustine were stretched to favour the same conclusion. Calvin, as Luther before him, was fond of meditating on these passages.

Luther gave up the belief in man's free will: "I would that the word 'free will' had never been invented; neither is it in the scripture, and might better be called 'self will.'" Calvin, always definite, denied that it existed.

This difference of belief concerning man's freedom of

will remains a profound and unbridgeable gulf among men. Calvin severed his followers from the old religion finally and beyond hope of reconciliation by the dogma of predestination and the denial of free will. On various texts in the Bible, taken without any consideration of complementary passages in the Sacred Scriptures, Calvinists and Lutherans built up their systems of theology, and by a similar process they extracted from the works of St. Augustine opinions favourable to these systems.

Against the heresy of Pelagius, that man could of his own free will turn from sin and of his own accord become a changed character, Augustine insisted that man could do nothing of the sort unless the grace of God was given to him to amend his life. The co-operation of the human will with the grace of God is the Catholic teaching. Calvin stretched the Augustinian doctrine till man was left with no good will to seek the grace of God. The hard, logical mind of the French lawyer fixed upon the utter worthlessness of all mankind, since all mankind was descended from Adam the fallen, and therefore the utter hopelessness of thinking of co-operation with God. Only through the pleasure of God were certain favoured mortals set apart for eternal bliss, redeemed by the death of Christ on the cross.

Neither in the "evangelical" churches of the Lutheran creed, nor in the Elizabethan church of England was the Calvinistic formula welcomed. Nevertheless it influenced vitally the course of the Protestant Reformation in every land.

How did it happen that in twenty years a young Augustinian friar in Germany and a more youthful French lawyer in Geneva succeeded in detaching from the papal dominion so great a number of people — princes and nobles, clergy and lay folk?

According to Luther and Calvin the Christian Church for more than a thousand years past had been no true church of God, the pope no true vicar of Christ but rather anti-Christ.

And this interpretation of history, that denied the existence

of a visible Christian Church since the days of St. Augustine; that dismissed as idolaters the great saints of the middle ages — St. Anselm and St. Bernard, St. Francis and St. Dominic, St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure; that denounced the work of St. Benedict as evil and the life of chastity as an offence against God; that excluded from Christian fellowship all who held the tradition of a faith handed down from the Apostles; this novel view of history was not only accepted as gospel by all sorts and conditions of men, it was accepted as a call to overthrow the religion of the papacy in every land and to banish from the earth all who walked in the old paths.

How was it such revolutionary opinions were accepted, so radical a change in the minds of Christian men and women accomplished?

In all revolutions the motives of the chief actors, of their lieutenants and followers vary. "Good and evil lie close together, seek no artistic unity in character," wrote Lord Acton to his fellow historian, Mandell Creighton. Pride, ambition, personal profit, avarice, envy, allow for all these things in every revolution, and still there remains the zeal that is disinterested, the passion for justice, the desire to promote the welfare of man. Very mixed motives are disclosed in the annals of the Protestant Reformation. The conviction that the pope was anti-Christ, his Church an apostate body, and his authority a gross imposition on the Christian conscience, became the sincere belief of Lutherans and Calvinists. The good faith of many thus convinced is no more to be doubted than is the good faith of their Protestant descendants of our own times.

How did this conviction arise?

Many things contributed. That the papacy was a divine institution for safeguarding the faith and morals of all nations was no longer the evident truth, as it was in the great days of St. Gregory or in the years when Popes Gregory VII and Innocent III were enthroned. Exalted as the papacy was when men of holy life, wise in spirit and powerful in will, were chosen to rule Christendom from the

chair of St. Peter, it was depressed no less when the popes lived in comfortable exile at Avignon and for seventy years appeared as spiritual appendages of French kings, while Rome stood desolate. Forty years of the great schism followed Avignon. With rival claimants for the papal throne, so that honest men were hard put to distinguish pope from anti-pope, papal authority was brought to confusion. The great schism closed only to leave Christendom with popes of the Renaissance for its chief pastors. The Council of Florence (1439) confirmed the doctrine of the primacy of the pope as the successor of St. Peter — not till 1870 was infallibility to be defined. But the popes of the Renaissance were chiefly concerned with building up the political independence of the papal states, the enrichment of their own families at the expense of the Church, and the adornment of Rome with the glories of the arts. No doubt the policy of the Borgia popes aimed at more than a strong temporal dominion. Pope Alexander VI — if we interpret the evidence aright — seems to have striven for the unity and independence of Italy. His successor, Julius II — statesman, patriot, and great soldier, but no friend to the Borgias — saw the enemy both to unity and independence in the republic of Venice and made war accordingly. The zeal of these Italian popes for Italy, a nation, left no room for sympathy with the demand for reforms in the Church. They were quite without comprehension, these popes of the Renaissance, of the depths of hostile feeling that existed in many parts of Europe. Rome appeared as a political entity unrelated to the supernatural; and since the policy of the popes was concerned with the balance of power and the pomps of the world, it is small wonder that the successor of St. Peter was at last regarded by not a few as a mere earthly sovereign and — the council of Florence notwithstanding — as a pontiff possessing no particular authority, still less any supremacy, in the realms of religion.

No single reason accounts for the break-up of Christendom in the sixteenth century, but the witness is abundant that such popes, in their frequently zealous campaign for temporal advantages and political ends, appeared to their con-

temporaries utterly indifferent to the spiritual welfare of the Christian peoples of God. This apparent indifference quickened rather than hindered a discussion that threw doubt on the pope's supreme authority. Men, in perplexity, passed from doubt to disbelief in the papacy, and from disbelief in the papacy to disbelief in the Church of the papacy, until, on the part of many, faith in the One, Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church perished, and the unity of Christendom was shattered. Popes, strenuously contending for earthly kingdoms, had small vision of the Kingdom of God. Men, with faith weakened, lost sight of the vicar of Christ in the Italian princes who ruled with high magnificence and vied with kings in displaying the least admirable of the arts of government.

Into Italy itself — and especially within the city of Lucca — the new doctrine penetrated, and two men, ardent preachers and popular — Bernadine Ochino, a Franciscan friar of the Capuchin reform, and Peter Martyr Vermiglio, an Augustinian canon — fell under suspicion of heterodoxy. To the distress of their Catholic friends, both these clerics fled and joined the reform. Ochino established the first Protestant congregation at Geneva; thence, after marrying and wandering in Protestant lands, ended by denying all Christian belief. Peter Martyr turned Zwinglian, married an ex-nun, and coming to England was promoted by Cranmer to a divinity professorship at Oxford.

To paganism rather than to Protestantism was the inclination of clergy and laity in Italy, when religious fervour was lost in the Renaissance. When at last a papal commission was appointed by Paul III, and when Cardinals Pole, the Englishman, and Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV, issued their report, the Lutherans declared revolt was justified.

This *Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia,* as the report is called, declared carelessness in admission to holy orders the source of endless scandals, and that examination of candidates and instruction of lower clergy were necessary. It urged the removal of youths, not yet professed, from certain religious houses, and that novices should not be admitted

until degenerate monks had died out, and insisted that exercise of priestly functions by popes and nuncios for money payments dishonoured the pope and perplexed the people.

Severe comments on the paganism in the schools, and the state of things in Rome, follow:

"Godlessness is taught in the schools in Italy by professors of philosophy. . . .

"In Rome, the mother and mistress of all the churches, public worship and good morals should flourish abundantly; but precisely in Rome were they most sinned against. Strangers who visit St. Peter's are scandalized to see dirty and neglected priests celebrating divine service in robes and garments such as would not be seen in a respectable house. Women of ill-repute live in fashionable houses and walk in the city in broad daylight, like honourable matrons, accompanied by members of cardinals' and clerics' households. In no city is corruption so great as in Rome, the city which should serve as a pattern to all others."

When this *Consilium* fell, as it did almost at once, into the hands of Protestants, it was published in several editions. The 1538 edition (Strasbourg) had a preface with the words: "We did not dissent from you without great and just causes."

It is quite true the papacy in previous ages fell on evil days and recovered. The papacy of the tenth century, when twenty-eight popes reigned between 891 and 999, is perhaps the most shocking period of papal rule, with vice and faction at their worst. Yet from that morass of weakness and disorder the papacy, reformed, cleansed, and restored, arose with renewed strength. No cleavage in the unity of Christendom followed the foulness of the tenth century.

But in the sixteenth century, besides the doctrine of justification by faith alone, which withdrew so many from papal obedience, the idea of nationality was a disintegrating force, and to the rulers of the new nations an absolute government offered an alternative to papal supremacy. That the catholicity of the Church, the unity of Christian people over all the earth in one Lord, one faith, one baptism, depended on one common chief pastor; that without papal supremacy

there was neither the one fold nor the one shepherd, was ignored or forgotten by princes bent on power. It was flatly denied by the leaders in the new religion.

The growth of the national idea, quickened for a hundred years before Luther and fostered by the papal policy itself, assisted the disruptive doctrine. No need existed for a common supreme authority over all Christian people, it was argued, when each nation had its own authority in the head of the state.

Opinions were divided among the Protestant reformers as to the limits of the secular authority in religion. Calvin would allow the state and its sovereign ruler the duty of enforcing the decrees of the church. In doctrine and discipline the churches of Calvin's reform enjoyed the protection of the state in the lands where Calvinism was the predominant faith. The Lutheran evangelical churches accepted the sovereignty of the State in ecclesiastical matters wherever Lutheranism was the official religion. In Great Britain, it will be noted, the division of opinion resulted in different relations of Church and State in England and Scotland.

As for the Anabaptists and other sects in varying degrees Christian and anarchist, but lacking the impulse to destroy all who declined membership in the revolutionary society — they refused allegiance to any authority, whether papal, imperial, monarchical, or republican, that was not of their appointment. The saints and the saints alone must rule, they decreed. Only under protest did they submit to the rule of the ungodly, and not under any condition would they allow the ungodly to interfere with the conduct of the congregation of the saints. The protection of the State they disdained. As emphatically they refused submission to the State when they judged such submission contrary to the law of God.

The principle of nationality assisted, then, the break-up at the Reformation, though it was not responsible for the idea of absolute authority in the State. At the close of the fourteenth century national feelings are conspicuous in the rivalries of the great schism. Pope Urban VI counted on the support of Italy, Germany, Bohemia, England, Hungary, and

Poland. Robert of Geneva, the anti-Pope Clement VII of Avignon, was backed by Scotland, France, and Spain. Two great Dominican saints, St. Catherine of Siena and St. Vincent Ferrer, gave their allegiance according to their nationality. St. Catherine represented Italian convictions in adhering to Pope Urban; St. Vincent was equally a spokesman of Spain in his support of Clement. Neither doubted that their pope was the true pope, neither imagined a Christendom without a pope. The Holy Roman Empire might be diminished; it plainly was diminished in sovereignty by the fifteenth century. At the Council of Constance (1414–18), for instance, which was the council called to end the great schism, the voting was by nations. The Church of Christ, the Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, was older than the empire. The Catholic Church existed before the empire was, it would continue whatever befell the empire.

Nationality was not responsible for the absolute authority of the State, though it gave this absolute authority its opportunity. It is the Renaissance, with its revival of interest in the tyrannies of classical Greece and Rome, that turned the minds of the few interested in theories of government to the ideal of an absolute State, the strong State, with its head, the ruler, supreme in all things.

Machiavelli is the mouthpiece of the men who looked to the State for supreme rule in all things, and Machiavelli is the greatest because the most influential of all political writers in the years immediately preceding the Reformation. Strong government is a necessity for a nation that would be powerful and free; for a government to be strong there must be unity within the State, and there must be religion if there is to be unity. Machiavelli puts the case for an official religion:

"The observance of the ordinances of religion is the cause of the greatness of commonwealths; so also is their neglect the cause of ruin. For where the fear of God is wanting a kingdom must either go to ruin or be supported by the fear of a prince, so as to make up for the loss of the influence of religion. Rulers of a commonwealth or kingdom ought to

preserve the existing foundations of religion; if they do this it will be easy for them to keep their state religious and consequently virtuous and united."[8]

Machiavelli is not concerned with the truth of the religion that is to be maintained. For him that religion is good and is the religion to be adopted by rulers "which conduces to the interests of the majority and with which the majority are contented."

Religion is thus made subordinate to the State, while it remains for the ruler to decide the form of religion as of all other national interests. That was the position, as many of the shrewdest of purely political minds saw it, in the era of the Renaissance. When the revolt came and the new religion was proposed, various rulers decided in favour of national churches, independent of Rome.

As for the majority in each land, it learnt to accept or at least to refrain from opposition to whatever changes in religion the rulers decided. So, in course of time, the established religion came to be the religion of the majority. But of course the reform was the work of the few. The great mass of people must needs be occupied with the work of earning its daily bread, with the business of buying and selling, with the management of its households. The pressure of the few carries the day, the organisation intelligently directed will enable a minority to override the unorganised and often lethargic majority. It was so at the Reformation; it has been so over and over again in the history of politics and religion. The few who care ardently will persuade the indifferent to yield, or at least to stand aside.

This growth, then, of the idea of independent nations, of sovereign states absolute in religion, together with the view of the papacy as no more than a political entity, assisted the disruption. But there were also definite and specific grievances against the papacy in more than one land in Europe.

Zwingli and his friends in Zurich were utterly opposed to the recruiting of young men in Switzerland for the papal

[8]See *Discourses.*

armies. Laws were passed forbidding the enlistment in foreign armies. The youth of Switzerland was drained away in these mercenary bands, and the soldiers who returned were broken in the wars and corrupted. Patriotism in the Swiss cantons cried out at the hurt done to the native land by the loss of its young men. The cry, however sincere, was ineffectual while popes required troops. For papal agents could bribe local rulers among the Swiss and chief citizens to arrange for young men to be despatched to the papal armies. Nor were the young men unwilling to go, for the papal Swiss were a famous corps. Laws might forbid this recruiting, Zwingli and others might denounce both the law-breakers and the papal agents who lured the young men to destruction. The thing went on; the secret recruiting for the pope's wars, the drain of youth into the pope's armies, was not stopped for all Zwingli's preaching. But when Luther raised the standard of revolt at Wittenberg, Zwingli and his considerable body of supporters were quite ready to rise in Zurich. The city had its political independence, it would now have no papal authority in religion. Zurich and, in due time, Geneva drew up their own confessions of faith, and the cantons of German Switzerland passed out from the unity of the See of Rome. Bullinger, an ex-monk, who at the age of twenty-seven succeeded Zwingli at Zurich, drew these cantons together.

Further, the ignorance and unbelief, common enough all over Europe, favoured the new doctrine. Ignorance in the episcopate was inevitable among the German bishops, who lived as secular princes and ruled vast estates with the magnificence of princes, no better and no worse in faith or morals than their neighbours. Unbelief became rife when abbeys were enjoyed as the perquisites of bastardy, and abbots were the illegitimate sons of kings and princes. With the clergy left unshepherded, their flocks unfed; with pride and scepticism, conspicuous in that marvellous time of the Renaissance, making little of Christian virtue, seen too clearly are conditions that favoured the revolt and help to account for it.

Yet pride and scepticism in high places, the fierce indi-

vidualism of the Renaissance, the unbelief and foul living of that day, the ignorance and superstition, are not the whole story of Christendom A.D. 1520. The faith of the millions, the simple piety of uncounted souls persisted. Undisturbed, and for the most part knowing but little of the conflicts of the mighty and the crimes of princes, men and women could be found in every land, content to follow the ways of their fathers, to worship God and walk humbly before Him, to invoke Our Lady and the saints for help, to live in charity with neighbours and give alms to those in need.

And the religious Orders could not be altogether wanting in devotion when the Canons Regular of the fifteenth century included Thomas à Kempis, an author whose genius suffered no neglect. For his *Imitation of Christ* was immediately and widely appreciated. Eighty editions of the *Imitation* were printed on the continent between 1470 and 1550. The first English translation was published in 1502. The little book by Thomas, of the Canons Regular, circulated all over northern Europe. The *Imitation of Christ,* by reason of the universality of its appeal, must be placed as the greatest spiritual treatise of its age.

In Spain the sanctity of St. Peter Alcantara (1499–1562) and of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, with their most memorable Carmelite reform, illuminate the first century of Protestantism. And from Spain and the Basque country came Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier; the latter to confound by the miracles of the mission field in the Far East all who held the Catholic Faith effete; the former to rally to the service of the papacy his Society of Jesus, to demonstrate to the world that for Catholic unity men would give their all. St. Francis de Sales was bishop of Geneva in 1602. St. Vincent de Paul was to found his order of Sisters of Charity in 1618.

In Rome itself came the revival in the Franciscan order, called the Capuchin reform (1525), and the founding of the Oratory by St. Philip Neri (1566). That century of the Protestant Reformation was also the century of St. Charles Borromeo at Milan (1571) and the century of St. Angela Merici,

who founded the Ursulines (1535), the first religious Order of teaching women in the Catholic Church. The grandson of the Borgian Pope, Alexander VI, was St. Francis Borgia, General of the Society of Jesus.

Existing evils in the Catholic Church were conspicuous. But faith and holiness, and all that we call charity, because not puffed up, are not so swiftly observed.

Finally, in every estimate of the causes of Luther's success, we must take into account how notably the minds we call subjective were drawn to the reform. To the objective mind the Mass, as the Divine Sacrifice, is the supreme act of worship, and at the Mass the heart goes out in prayer and praise. The subjective mind is more profoundly attracted by the reception of Holy Communion and the grace that accompanies reception. The reformed doctrine encouraged the belief that everything depended on a devout reception, on the *feeling* of God's presence, and easily turned the subjective-minded to regard the Mass as a hateful idolatry.

The Catholic laity, for a long time, made their communions at rare intervals only. (Strict duty still requires communion but once a year.) The subjective hungered for a fuller emotional life and were starved. Consequently, the sermon and prayer meeting and the administration of the Lord's Supper in the Protestant churches, in a language that was understood, as Latin was not, brought a special comfort.

The neglect of the sacraments at the time of the Reformation also explains the low temperature and spiritual debility among Catholics.

Of course, men and women born with the objective outlook were not tempted to renounce the faith of their fathers and to join the new churches of the new religion as their subjective kinsmen were. They had no craving for that experience of conversion that rejoiced the heart of the subjective; they accepted that experience when it came, but they were on their guard against trusting to the feelings. In letters and other spiritual writings they warned their fellow Catholics that in the will and not in the feelings is the way of salvation.

It was the subjective-minded, again, to whom the Bible reading, which, with the use of the vernacular in place of Latin, played a very considerable part in the spread of Protestant principles, brought so large a measure of happiness. The average Catholic, in the sixteenth century as in the twentieth, was no great Bible reader. He knew the facts of Christ's birth, of the miraculous life, death, resurrection, and ascension. Christ, the Person, he worshipped. Christ, the Person, was God. The yearly round of the Christian year, brought aids to Catholic devotion, with the ceremonies that belonged to each season; the Christmas festival, Candlemas, the ashes on the first day of Lent, the Palm Sunday procession and the solemnities of Holy Week, the Easter sepulchre. Each time he assisted at Mass the Catholic knew he was present at the Sacrifice of Calvary; each time he went to confession he knelt at the foot of the cross. Opportunities were plentiful, after the printing press had been set up, for anyone with the desire to read the Bible to gratify that desire; but the desire was not general, and the Catholic translations were for the most part ignored by the faithful — as they are to-day. Luther's translation was a novelty. The people, persuaded to read the Bible for the first time, and being subjectively minded, were immensely taken with it. They found in so many passages a personal message, and that assurance of comfort which Luther himself had found in the Pauline epistles. The Sacred Scriptures became the supreme authority. "What does the Bible say about it?" That was the test. As it was quite clear that nothing was said in the New Testament about pilgrimages and penances, about indulgences and the rosary; in fact, that not a word could be found about the devotions that had flowered and the doctrines that had developed in the Middle Ages, the Bible readers decided that all these doctrines and devotions must be refused. The Protestant translations helped to draw the reader still further from the old religion by note and comment violently anti-Catholic, and by dropping a familiar word in favour of one that gave a new complexion. Tyndall was particularly adept

at this, and his English translation was intended to detach readers from the unity of the Holy See.

On people ignorant of the Bible — and there were plenty of clergy in Luther's time who read no more of the Bible than the lessons in the breviary and the epistle and gospel at Mass — the impression made upon hearing it read and explained as a new book, or upon reading it alone without note or comment, was profound. Startling results followed in numerous places. Strange, queer sects, all grown out of Bible reading, and each sect assured of its own absolute and sole possession of truth, soon appeared, spreading over northern Europe and in course of time to North America. In the main the minds inclined to receive rather than to give, to draw in rather than to extend, were susceptible to the influence of the Protestant translations and became the leading spirits of the Lutheran evangelical churches and the later reform of Calvin.

To recapitulate.

At a time when tares were growing freely among the wheat in the Kingdom of God a young Augustinian friar, already a professor at the University of Wittenberg, declared that he found personal assurance of salvation in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Restless, uneasy, and perplexed; brooding over certain passages, isolating them and finding confirmation by isolating other passages in the works of St. Augustine in similar fashion, Luther became convinced that man was justified by faith in Christ and by nothing else; and that nothing he did could make or mar the salvation that was promised to him. The one thing needful was to *feel* that one was saved by Christ.

Filled with this confidence of personal salvation and justly indignant at the methods employed to raise money for the building of St. Peter's at Rome, Luther, in customary manner, issued a challenge of ninety-five propositions. No immediate notice was taken at Rome of this action, but eventually Rome condemned as erroneous certain of these propositions and required Luther to submit. By this time Luther, with all belief in the papacy gone, for no word came

from the Pope that notorious abuses and evils in the Church should be corrected, broke away from the unity of the One, Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church and invited all who would, to come into the new evangelical church, now set up, and to accept the new doctrine.

Within five years of Luther's excommunication, a secular priest at Zurich, Zwingli, broke away from the unity and set up a new church for Switzerland.

Ten years on, and a French lawyer, educated at the expense of a cathedral chapter in Picardy, and trained at the Catholic universities of Paris and Orleans, formally, at the age of twenty-five, renounced the Catholic Church as an apostate body, declared the pope anti-Christ, and retired to Geneva to become the autocrat and the lawgiver of the church of the reform.

Divisions and differences naturally existed among the Protestants. (Lutherans and Calvinists, Swiss congregations and French Huguenots, Anglicans of the Church of England, all took the name of "Protestant," as they took the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith in Christ alone as the fundamental and central article of belief.) The unity of Christendom was broken irreparably as the Protestant dogma spread all over northern Europe and was adopted by the rulers of the various lands. Hatred of the papacy; hatred of the Mass, for no longer was there for them a sacrifice or a sacrificing priesthood; hatred of the religious Orders and repudiation of all vows of chastity taken by the religious; hatred of the doctrine of purgatory and the entire prohibition of all prayers for the dead and of all invocation of saints and devotion to Our Lady — on these matters Protestants were agreed. They were also agreed that the Bible should be read by everybody and should be accepted as the sole authority in the constitution of the new churches, and in the settlement of all disputed questions of faith and morals, of public worship, and church discipline.

This revolt against the authority of the pope was successful because the conditions were favourable.

The papacy was not in good repute at the beginning of the

sixteenth century. It appeared less as a spiritual force and the centre of Christian unity, than as a political power, with its alliances and treaties not different from other political powers.

Nationality was already the great idea in Europe, and the papal policy seemed to be directed to the achievement of Italian nationhood. The Renaissance, with its robust individualism and its looking back to the ancient models of Greece and Rome, encouraged belief in strong government, and in the absolute State, with religion ordered and governed by the State.

There was much corruption in the Church and the corruption was open, flagrant, and shameless. The sanctity and holiness that existed in every land were naturally not so conspicuous nor so much discussed. Vice is "news," virtue is not. The Catholic revival, represented by St. Peter of Alcantara, St. Teresa, and St. John of the Cross, by St. Ignatius, St. Peter Canisius, and St. Francis Xavier, by St. Philip Neri, St. Charles Borromeo, and St. Angela Merici, came too late to save Christendom from disruption.

To subjective minds the new learning with the Protestant translations of the Bible, and with much preaching and praying in the vulgar tongue, made an irresistible appeal. Personal salvation was stressed even to the total disregard of the unity of Christendom. The faith in One, Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church was declared the falsehood of a thousand years; the true faith was the feeling that one had faith.

It was a time of temptation, this century of the Reformation. Men were tempted to deny the unity of the Church of Christ, to question the papal supremacy, thence to hate that supremacy.

The hate was violent, the Church was deemed apostate; otherwise there was no excuse for setting up a new church.

Pride of youth, earnest purpose, and the common impatience of young men, an immense self-confidence, with the personal conviction of high calling by God to the work of destroying the old Church and building up a new; these

qualities mark the men who made the Reformation. Humility is not the virtue of a Luther or a Calvin.

The humble of heart, the great saints of Spain and Italy, the many readers of the *Imitation of Christ,* such men as Sir Thomas More in England, remained unshaken in their loyalty to the old religion, to the papacy, to the unity of Christendom.

Thousands of Catholics, ill-instructed in their faith, ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, were given the Protestant versions of the Bible, and reading the New Testament for the first time under the guidance of the teachers of the new learning, were astonished to find no mention of numerous Catholic practices; no mention of the Mass nor popular devotions, nor of purgatory, nor celibacy of the clergy, nor monks, nor nuns, nor rosary, nor indulgence. So they were persuaded to join the Protestants and to denounce the Catholic Church as false, and the Mass as idolatrous and blasphemous.

Many princes joined the Protestants because they were filled with the idea of the absolute rule of monarchy and would have no divided allegiance within their dominions. Also the possessions of the religious Orders could be confiscated to the State when the faith of these Orders was prescribed.

But the papacy did not perish, and the One, Holy, Roman, Catholic Church, being built on a rock, was not submerged.

It was a time of temptation, the period of the Reformation, a time wherein the souls of men were tested by God.

How did it fare in Great Britain with the people of England, of Scotland, and Wales, when the doctrine of the Protestant reformers reached the land, and the works of the reformers were reported?

Chapter II

HENRY VIII AND THE ROYAL SUPREMACY

Summary

Great Britain a Catholic country in 1520 ✦ Scotland Protestant in 1560 ✦ England in 1581, when the Mass was felony ✦ the change brought about by Catholics ✦ clergy and laity who had renounced the papacy and the Church of the papacy ✦ Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell ✦ Elizabeth, Cecil, and Walsingham, chief lay agents ✦ activities of Cranmer and Latimer ✦ early influence of Lutheranism at Cambridge ✦ akin to modernism in our own times ✦ two main groups: humanists and men of the "new learning" ✦ Henry "defender of the faith" ✦ desire for divorce ✦ character of Henry ✦ supported by hierarchy in divorce and declaration of royal supremacy ✦ break with Rome ✦ 1535 the year of crisis.

CHRONOLOGY

Europe

1517 Luther's ninety-five theses of Wittenberg.

1520 Luther excommunicated.

1523–25 Reform established at Zurich by Zwingli.

1524 Theatine order — for secular priests — founded in Rome.

1527 Sack of Rome by imperial troops.

1528 Capuchin reform in the Franciscan Order.

1529 Protest of Lutheran minority at diet of Spires: term "protestant" subsequently taken by all Christian bodies outside the Catholic unity.

1531 Bullinger succeeds Zwingli at Zurich.

1534 Ignatius Loyola and companions make their vows at Montmartre.

Calvin renounces the Catholic Faith.

1535 Ursuline Order founded by St. Angela Merici for education of women.

Great Britain

1520 Lutheran doctrines discussed and favourably received at Cambridge.

1521 Henry VIII entitled "Defender of the Faith" by Pope Leo X.

1525 Henry VIII makes first suggestion of divorce from Katherine.

1526 Tyndale's translation of the New Testament.

1531 Henry recognised by the clergy as supreme head of the church in England — "as far as is allowed by the law of Christ."

1533 Cranmer becomes archbishop of Canterbury.

1534 English parliament empowers the king to appoint all bishops, abolishes Peter's Pence, and passes act of succession declaring Mary illegitimate and Elizabeth heir to the crown.

1535 The year of the English schism, papal authority rejected, the beginning of many sorrows.

Chapter II

HENRY VIII AND THE ROYAL SUPREMACY

England and Scotland were Catholic countries in the year 1520, the year when Martin Luther, decisively ignoring the condemnation of his Wittenberg propositions, snapped his fingers at the papal excommunication that followed. Within forty years of that critical time the theology of Calvin was declared the established faith in Scotland and the "old religion" was proscribed. Twenty-one years later and in England it was felony for a priest to say Mass, for a layman to assist at Mass. It was high treason to make converts to the "old religion." And the acts of the English parliament that declared Catholic duties to be felony and treason were enforced.

But Great Britain was certainly Catholic in 1520. Complaints of lay people at the rapacity of the clergy were, of course, common; as common then as in most lands and in every age; as common as the reproaches of the clergy at the lack of generous giving by the laity. In London, too, and in certain towns in the eastern counties travellers from the continent would bring news of any strange events, and novelties in religious doctrine would be the talk. It was inevitable that new ideas in religion, however extravagant they might appear to the majority, would find sympathetic attention in quarters dissatisfied with the slackness of parochial clergy. People ill-instructed in the Faith, the fervour within their hearts cooled by an ignorant, or an unspiritual parish priest, at the worst by a scandalously unchaste cleric, are apt to take up with any new thing in religion that promises a change of environment.

In the universities, too, a few of the younger men, out of sheer intellectual curiosity, would naturally debate fresh

topics, and find in expounding a message from overseas an outlet for enthusiasm.

At Oxford, as Warham, the old archbishop of Canterbury, was aware, discussions on the "new learning" of Martin Luther were taking place; while at Cambridge it was notorious that fellows of colleges and tutors were in the habit of meeting together to talk over the Lutheran ideas. So that their place of meeting came to be known as "Germany." Two Augustinian friars, Miles Coverdale and Robert Barnes; three secular clerks, Thomas Bilney, Thomas Cranmer, Hugh Latimer; and two younger clerics not yet ordained to the priesthood, Matthew Parker and Nicholas Ridley, were conspicuous among the university dons at Cambridge who resorted to "Germany" in the years that followed immediately the publication of Luther's writings.

The beginnings of the new doctrine in England resemble the spread of what is known as modernism at the beginning of the twentieth century in Europe. The modernists set out with no expressed desire to create a new church or to break with Catholic authority. They were for infusing the Church with an enlarged and newer faith, for reforming from within. Similarly, Cranmer, Latimer, and the rest of this Cambridge group at the beginning had no intention to depart from Catholic unity, no desire for a new and separated church. They would spread the reform within. Sooner or later modernist and sixteenth-century reformer alike were compelled to face the question: "Do you set up your private judgment above the judgment of the Universal Church or do you submit to the authority that claims your obedience?"

To this question the answer made by Luther, by Zwingli, and by Calvin was the final answer of Cranmer and of Latimer — and of Henry VIII. It was not the final answer of Tunstall and Gardiner, of the bulk of the clergy who supported Henry in his anti-papal policy. But the changes in England and Wales, that resulted in the establishment of the Protestant religion under Elizabeth and made the saying and hearing of Mass a capital offence, were the work of Catholics — of Catholic priests without faith in the

papacy, of Catholic priests without faith in their priesthood, and even more the work of Catholic laity. King Henry and his minister, Thomas Cromwell, Archbishop Cranmer, Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, Cecil and Walsingham, bear the chief responsibility. They played their respective parts with ability and a zeal that would not tolerate expression of unfavourable opinion. And each one of them was brought up in the Catholic Faith. The overthrow of the altars of sacrifice was accomplished within the Church by men and women who had knelt at the very altars they overthrew. It was not forced on Great Britain — this revolution called Reformation — by alien hostile forces, by external compulsion.

The work of destruction became possible when the authority of the crown of England was substituted for the supremacy of the pope.

There was nothing to suggest any violent departure from the Catholic unity, any open conflict with ecclesiastical authority, in the private meetings of a group of Cambridge dons interested in the religious movements on the continent, and favourably inclined to the new ideas of the Augustinian friar, Martin Luther. Still less could it be foreseen, in the year 1521, that the king of England, author of a forcible reply to the writings of Martin Luther and honoured by Pope Leo X with the gift of a golden rose and the title *Defensor Fidei* — a title which, despite its papal origin, all Protestant British sovereigns proudly and tenaciously display — would in so short a time disown the authority of the Holy See; and thereby, getting rid of papal supremacy and breaking the Catholic unity, make possible the establishment of the Anglican religion.

The friends of King Henry in that first part of his reign were not men sympathetic with the Lutheran "new learning." They were Catholic humanists: Linacre, the royal physician; Erasmus, but recently lecturing on Greek at Cambridge; Sir Thomas More, already a privy councillor and ambassador; Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; Fox, bishop of Winchester; Colet, dean of St. Paul's; Cuthbert

Tunstall, serving Wolsey in diplomatic missions on the continent and not yet bishop of Durham; John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; John Stokesley, a court chaplain and future bishop of London; Stephen Gardiner and Reginald Pole. All were men who enjoyed literature, deplored the plentiful ignorance and mental indolence of clergy and laity, and desired many reforms in the Church. Not reform that meant change of doctrine, but rather change of heart and mind and the end of abuses.

They were men pre-eminently sane and tolerant, these Catholic humanists; men of wide views and broad outlook, seeing life steadily and as a whole; men for whom the Christian religion was a religion of the spirit, the Catholic faith a living thing. Men who read their Bibles intelligently, and relished in particular their New Testaments, and would have all Catholics get a fuller perception of the beauty of holiness, a larger knowledge of the revealed truths. Men of enlightenment, men of charity and faith and hope. When they criticised, as Erasmus, Colet, and More criticised, it was not that they despised the rites and ceremonies of the Church. Rather, it was the routine of mere habit, making pilgrimages and external observances the chief concern of so many Catholics, that was at fault. For these external observances, pilgrimages, and pardons, were to be viewed in their right perspective, in the knowledge that, after all, salvation was a matter of faith and morals, not of mechanical performances. Superstition all too easily enters in, to usurp the place of reason and expel the true obedience to the spirit of God.

Against superstition, apt to be mistakenly accepted for devotion, and formalism, that enemy of spiritual life, the Catholic humanists were arrayed.

In the spread of Protestant teaching these Catholic humanists saw nothing but disaster. They saw the things they esteemed true, lovely, and of good report; the things that brought sweetness to life, threatened by this "new learning." They saw not only the break-up of society, dissolution of Christian fellowship, destruction of Catholic unity, but they

saw also that this new Lutheran teaching would inevitably set back the revival of learning in the universities, check the education of young people, and hinder the setting up of schools. Embittered controversy would take the place of mental culture; violence put a stop to the quietness and confidence of religious meditation. Church and nation alike would be rent by the debates of fanatics, the wells of truth poisoned. Every kind of knave, rogue, and fool would despoil the England they loved, and befoul the Catholic Faith they cherished. All these evils, foreseen by the humanists, were in due time accomplished, as the Protestant teaching spread.

For Catholic humanists, for the Cambridge group interested in this new Lutheranism, and for King Henry VIII, defender of the Faith, the testing time was at hand, and in the furnace of temptation would they be tried.

The humanist movement in England — unlike the Renaissance in Italy which had a large pagan element — was preeminently Christian, and quite untinged by paganism. The men who laboured for the revival of the classics, and in especial for the deeper study of the Greek New Testament, were not in the least sceptics. Their work preceded the Lutheran propaganda. Erasmus had left Cambridge, had parted from his friends Archbishop Warham, Bishop Fisher, Dean Colet, and Sir Thomas More, and settled in Switzerland, when the Lutheran doctrines first reached England. Colet and Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, the founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, were dead before the royal supremacy was first mooted. Archbishop Warham died, dubiously consenting to the king being entitled "supreme head of the Church in England," and requiring a qualification "so far as is allowed by the law of Christ."

The year of crisis is 1535.

By that time the Lutheran doctrine had spread beyond academic circles in Cambridge, and the influence of the doctrine had carried the Cambridge clerics further and further away from the Catholic standpoint. By that time Thomas Cranmer had attracted the royal attention and was enthroned as archbishop of Canterbury. Among Henry's

ministers and favourites Cranmer is unique. He survived. Wolsey, Sir Thomas More, and Thomas Cromwell fell. Cranmer, though his Lutheranism brought him under suspicion, held to his post, retaining the king's favour till Henry died. Hugh Latimer became even more suspect; but he was a popular preacher at a time when powerful preachers were not common, he was protected by Cranmer, given a general license to preach by Cardinal Wolsey, and appointed to the bishopric of Worcester by the king.

It was Hugh Latimer, the popular preacher, who insinuated doubt and misgiving wherever he went. This Cambridge preacher, with his command of coarse invective and homely simile, and with his powerful voice, made no attack on the Mass or on the doctrine of Transubstantiation, but he poured ridicule on the current practices of Catholics — their pilgrimages, their reverence for images, and their money offerings for the freedom of souls in purgatory. He preached up justification by faith alone, derided clergy and laity for their ignorance, and denounced them for their superstition. His hearers were confused by these utterances. While it was impossible to detect positive heresy, violent controversy was aroused whenever Latimer preached at Cambridge, and the bishop of Ely wished that so troublesome an element in his diocese could be directed against the subversive doctrines of Martin Luther instead of being a source of irritation, upsetting people by enlargement of the shortcomings of Catholics. Humility was no more a characteristic of Latimer and the Protestant reformers in Great Britain than of Luther and Calvin. Latimer, whose father was a prosperous yeoman, had all the sturdy self-confidence of the middle class. At the age of thirty he assimilated the new teaching from Germany and, convinced that his eternal salvation was assured because he felt that Christ had died to save him, turned his back on all notions of humility, gentleness, and forbearance. Henceforth, for Hugh Latimer, preaching was the instrument that would awaken his fellow churchmen and purify the Church from

all that was displeasing to the new learning. Latimer was no theologian, neither was he distinguished for scholarship. He was not a man of letters, though the influence of Colet and Grocyn had made him study the New Testament. In all sincerity he wished that the New Testament should be read by everybody, and that young men should be taught to read and write at grammar schools with opportunity for the talented to continue their studies at the university. Unconsciously ignoring papal authority, he dismissed the idea of all such authority from his mind. Then, gradually growing impatient of all ecclesiastical authority that did not endorse his own judgments, he came, with Cranmer, to confess the supreme and absolute authority of the crown. When the crown, worn by Mary Tudor, no longer accepted Latimer's opinions, he repudiated its authority, even as he had repudiated the authority of the pope and the Church, and fell back upon the New Testament, interpreted by himself, as the one supreme and only authority.

The preaching of Hugh Latimer was a disintegrating force in the Catholic Church in England. Many of his hearers had the uneasy feeling that there was something alien to the spirit of faith in these sermons of the Cambridge reformer. Others relished the lively touch. Those drawn to the preacher became the scornful critics of contemporary Catholic life or the savage iconoclasts when the time came for the great pillage. To the simple and devout, Latimer's preaching brought distress; it created difficulties, suggested uncertainty. To the humanists it was such preaching as bred a narrow, fierce, deplorable intolerance that was fatal to the real reform of religion. The further Latimer and his companions departed from the Catholic unity, the more savage was the abuse of the papal dominion, and the more fanatical the hatred of all things Catholic.

The movement of the Protestant reformers was downgrade, increasing thus the more rapidly, and yet always vainly called to halt by its leaders. The methods of the Protestant Reformers were the methods of the twentieth-century

modernists. The similarity has already been noted, and for a reasonable understanding of the first stages of Protestant movement may well be recalled.

"Modernism consists essentially in maintaining that the devout soul should draw the object and the motive of its faith from itself and itself alone. It rejects every sort of revealed communication that is imposed on the conscience from outside; and thus by a necessary consequence, it becomes the denial of the doctrinal authority of the Church established by Jesus Christ, the contempt of the hierarchy divinely appointed to rule the Christian community.

"The modernist spirit is the issue of Protestantism. . . .

"Catholicism says that the Christian faith is communicated to the faithful by an official organ of transmission — the Catholic episcopate — and that it is based on the acceptance of the authority of that organ. Protestantism on the contrary says that faith is exclusively an affair of individual judgment applied to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

"Authority on one side, individualism on the other. A Protestant church is therefore necessarily invisible; it is the presumed agreement of individual minds as to the same interpretation of scripture."[1]

The gradualness of the departure from the rule of Catholic authority marks the course of Protestantism as it marks the course of modernism. While Cranmer quite early (1525) took the view that the civil government was the supreme authority in Church and State alike and ceased to believe in the Sacrifice of the Mass, he retained his belief in Transubstantiation till near the end of Henry's reign, as Latimer did.

It was in their efforts to discredit all the common works of piety and devotion, in their preaching down the observance of Catholic rites and ceremonies, in their denunciation as fraudulent of much that seemed miraculous, that the preachers, of whom Latimer was the foremost, helped to mortify the faith of the multitudes and to distract the minds of the faithful, so that they no longer felt secure of the truth. And

[1]Lenten Pastoral of Cardinal Mercier. Malines, Belgium, 1908.

so in many quarters the soil was receptive when the seed of the new teaching was cast upon it.

The incident of Latimer's preaching at Bristol illustrates the low standard and the poverty of theological studies in a house of religion. When Latimer first preached in the Dominican priory at Bristol, in 1533, the prior, Hilsey, reported favourably on the sermon, and decided that this much-talked-of Cambridge divine was only against the abuse of Catholic practices and was not really a disbeliever in purgatory and Masses for the dead. But on further consideration of the sermons that followed Hilsey was convinced that Latimer was heretical and wrote to that effect. But Latimer was under Cranmer's protection, and Cranmer was high in the king's favour. Instead of being delated for heresy, Latimer was invited to preach before the king himself. This he did to Henry's satisfaction, and was consequently rewarded by being made bishop of Worcester.

Nevertheless the influence of the preachers of the "new learning" was but superficial. The old religion remained the religion of the English people.

Superficial, too, was the influence of the Catholic humanists, though Cardinal Wolsey supported the encouragement of letters and would have done more but for his absorption in high politics and the king's service. Tunstall and Stokesley were also employed on the business of the king, to the neglect of their bishoprics, and were frequently abroad on State embassies.

Sir Thomas More did more than any other of the group of Catholic humanists to serve the cause of religion. He it was who took up the challenge of Tyndale, and endeavoured to check the tide of unbelief and the stream of wild and fanatical misbeliefs that flowed into London from continental sources. Tyndale, a Franciscan of the Friars Observant at Greenwich, had come under the influence of Erasmus and Tunstall when he was a student at Cambridge, and was filled with the design of an English translation of the New Testament. In 1524 he was in Germany and an avowed disciple of Luther, who cordially supported the scheme for a

new vernacular translation. Indeed it was held at the time that, what with the notes and adaptations taken from Luther's New Testament, this New Testament of Tyndale's was no more than "Luther's Testament in English." More denounced the translation, not only for its errors but for its Lutheran notes. Tunstall, then bishop of London, had all the copies burnt — which was very much to Tyndale's advantage, for he wanted the money from the copies sold in London to print a fresh edition, and the sales had been poor till the whole edition was bought up to be burnt. This was in 1530, and not till 1539 was an official English translation of the Bible issued.

While the king and the Catholic humanists, Sir Thomas More in especial, did their best to exclude the Tyndale translation, because it was faulty, misleading, and calculated by its notes to spread the Lutheran heresies, it was clear that there was no desire on the part of the translator for an "open Bible." Tyndale was as fully aware as Luther was, that the Bible reader needed guidance, and it was this guidance he undertook to supply — by his notes. Not the New Testament, but Tyndale's annotated translation, was what Tyndale wanted the English people to buy and read.

Tyndale, at the best, could hope for no great sales. According to Sir Thomas More half the population was illiterate, and then the Tyndale translations, with the other anti-Catholic writings of the ex-Franciscan, were expensive and not easily obtained. There is no evidence at all that in the sixteenth century, or in later centuries, the Bible was in greater demand than it is to-day, or that more people wanted to read it. Bible reading was not made compulsory in schools and colleges till a much later date in England. The people who wanted Tyndale's New Testament, and who got it, as people will always get forbidden and censored books if they have money and sufficient pertinacity, were found in London and in certain towns in East Anglia. They were already disaffected, these people, dissatisfied with the state of religion and ready for any change. But these enthusiasts for the Tyndale New Testament were relatively few, even as the en-

thusiasts for the study of the Greek New Testament and of the classical authors of Greece and Rome were few. "To imagine that ploughmen and shepherds in the country read the New Testament in English by stealth, or that smiths and carpenters in towns pored over its pages in the corners of their masters' workshops, is to mistake the character and acquirements of the age."[2]

Catholic England was familiar with the New Testament, wherever the clergy did their duty, and it knew the Old Testament from the plays and paintings that told in the parish churches the stories of the Old Testament. When the Catholic religion was proscribed, the Mass forbidden, the old Biblical plays prohibited, and the churches robbed of all illustration in glass or canvas, then the Bible became the Book to be pondered, its words discussed, its meaning expounded afresh by every man who felt drawn to play the interpreter. But that was not till a hundred years after the Tyndale translation.

Tyndale himself never returned to England. When the question of the king's divorce was raised and in course of time talked about all over Europe, Tyndale, with his fellow Lutherans generally, maintained that the book of Leviticus proved Henry's marriage with Katherine a valid marriage. But Melanchthon advised bigamy if the king must marry Anne.

The question of the king's divorce, the king's "business" as it was called, affected the whole course of religion in England. It was a test question distracting many minds. In the answering of it was life or death, since to cross the king's will was treason and unpardonable affront.

Capricious it might be judged by contemporaries and by posterity, this royal will, but Henry himself found his conduct solemnly self-approved; nor did he ever admit any inconsistency or find any ground for self-reproach.

All who knew him as a young man — and Henry was but nineteen when, on being called to the throne of England, he

[2]Brewer: *Introduction to Henry VIII.* State Papers.

married Katherine, daughter of King Ferdinand of Spain — bear witness to the charm, the high qualities of mind, the generous impulses, the physical grace and strength of this son of Henry VII, the first Tudor king. Inheriting the vast savings of his father, spending lavishly, profuse in the gifts of friendship, Henry was hailed as an ideal for Christian princes, a splendid and noble youth. His skill at tennis and in other bodily exercises won applause from the unlearned. His love of letters, studies in theology, and zealous attention to the practise of religious duties, drew warm praise from Erasmus and the humanists. The open bearing of the young king made him popular with the multitude. By general acclamation Henry was all that a king should be — in the promise of early manhood. Twenty years of kingship brought changes. That was inevitable. The character hardened and became fixed. The question of the divorce revealed what manner of man was the once-so-popular king.

The traits were there all the time, though unnoticed; the traits that belong to the self-centred type, the introvert. In the possession of great and unchecked powers over others came the opportunity for the full display of character.

Henry, sure from the first that what he did was the right thing, trusted that others were all equally well-intentioned. But then came the plunge into world politics, and with Wolsey for foreign minister, England became a European power, involved in alliances and counter alliances, secret diplomacy and private understandings — all broken or kept as it suited the political strategy of the Emperor Maximillian and the kings of France and Spain. Henry marvelled at the falseness of men, and decided that henceforth he would trust no man's word. It seemed to him that he, Henry, king of England, could alone keep faith; all the rest of the world would betray him. His youthful inexperience of politics was outraged and Henry never recovered from the shock of disillusion.

Convinced that all his desires were necessarily in accordance with the will of God, that all his plans must be right, since they were the plans of a king approved by God, Henry

naturally came to the conclusion that all who failed him, all who differed from him, all who opposed him, were hopelessly and wickedly wrong. They disappointed him; that was enough. They disappointed a good king who would have all his subjects see truth and follow it, as their ruler did, and in no other fashion. They were ill-conditioned ingrates, deceivers, all who failed him; and therefore must die. It was not fitting that such persons should live. Persons who dared to have an opinion of their own when the king had spoken, were sheer traitors. The capacity to impose on oneself is not rare; neither is the capacity to credit others with evil motives rare. In Henry this capacity was positively stupendous. In such a character the more self was cherished the less consideration could there be for others. As the self-love grew, till in its disease it became as monstrous as his swollen body, all love for humankind perished. With complete self-approval went complete self-love. Others misunderstood him, it is the common complaint of the self-centred — others were culpable, he, Henry, was never wrong; if only people would understand!

There is not the slightest evidence that this humourless monarch, who slew his friends without compunction, and his servants when they could no longer serve him, who cast aside the faithful wife of twenty years, who spared no one who crossed his will, and sacrificed old and young alike to gain his own ends, ever felt the least regret or suffered a moment's remorse for the murders committed by his orders. Neither is there any evidence that he doubted his own complete good faith in all the changes and vicissitudes of his long reign. No suggestion of repentance for past sins, of the need for amendment of life is recorded, not even when death approached.

It is an extreme case, no doubt, of the self-centred character, the history of this man Henry VIII, but the type of character here displayed is not itself uncommon. Henry could indulge to the full, without correction, his born tendencies to self-worship, and unmeasured hurt was done. Others equally undisciplined, can also indulge in similar

fashion, similar qualities. History records such cases. Absolute power alone gives the fatal opportunity. It is disease, a recognised form of mental disorder, curable if diagnosed, that made Henry so dangerous a man to his friends.

The character of Henry must be understood if we are to understand how the changes in religious order were brought about in England during his reign. For Henry was the chief actor, and his ministers and their agents, Wolsey, Cromwell, Cranmer, Gardiner, and their subordinates, however capable and however ambitious, could do no more than suggest and advise. The last word was always with the king.

His, indeed, was not a difficult character to understand. We realize the qualities of Henry VIII better than some of those nearest to him in the days of his tyranny. Flattery and the yielding to every whim and fancy of such a man is disastrous. The more the self-centred man is indulged, the more his desires are gratified, his conceits praised, the worse he gets — till at last he can no longer distinguish between himself and the divine providence; his voice is the voice of God; his will the expression of the will of God. He cannot conceive the possibility of an error in judgment in matters of faith or morals. The only error is in thinking well of others who prove unworthy of the regard.

Sir Thomas More discerned the character of the king and warned Cromwell of the danger of feeding the royal appetite. Blessed Thomas More was under no delusion as to the nature of Henry, even when the king walked with him in friendliest intimacy: "If my head would win him a castle in France it should not fail to go."

But the others: Wolsey, Thomas Cromwell, Stephen Gardiner, Cuthbert Tunstall, Edmund Bonner, all the bishops (save John Fisher of Rochester), and many abbots who not only supported Henry in his claim for a divorce and inveighed against the pope for his delay in granting it, but also supported the rejection of the papal supremacy, approved making the king head of the Church in England. How did it come about that so great a number of the spiritual lords of

England should learn too late the significance of the king's enthronement in the pope's stead?

They were, for the most part, statesmen and royal officials — Henry's bishops; civil servants and king's messengers rather than shepherds of their flocks. Their very salaries were provided by the revenues of their bishoprics, to the saving of the royal exchequer. Industrious and docile as civil servants, painstaking and conscientious in all that pertained to the king's business, neither great theologians nor deeply experienced in the life of devotion, the bishops and heads of religion in England submitted to whatever the royal will decided, carried out whatever the royal will decreed.

The self-assurance of Henry in all that affected the Faith, in all that related to ecclesiastical affairs, was itself so tremendous that it overwhelmed doubt and uncertainty and silenced criticism. They were but a few who had the grace and the insight to see through the imposture of a kingship vaunted as not only infallible but impeccable. Prayer and meditation on the truths of God convinced the few that Catholic unity was of divine ordinance, a thing not to be broken at a king's pleasure. Their own lives they gave readily, the few; deny the Catholic unity they would not.

Henry never faltered in the path of self-assurance. It was not an empty compliment to be entitled by the pope *Defensor Fidei.* Henry boasted a capacity for defending the faith without papal supervision or advice from bishops and lords spiritual. He could do it alone — this defence of the faith — and protect his realm from heresy, always provided that bishops and clergy loyally waited on the king's will, readily carried out the king's orders.

For a season later Henry dallied for political reasons with the idea of an alliance with Lutheran princes against the French king, but he soon dropped it. Heresy was the one thing Henry would not stomach and the German Protestants were certainly heretical. Conveniently for his own peace of mind Henry could dismiss as scandal the whisper that his particular servant, Thomas Cranmer, was heretical; that

Hugh Latimer, now a king's chaplain, was unsound in theology. To the king Cranmer was silent on doubts on the Mass, or other points of Catholic doctrine. Latimer never preached heresy in the king's presence. Both Cranmer and Latimer were whole-heartedly for the overthrow of the pope's dominion in England, and for the supremacy of the king. Cranmer indeed was entirely sincere in urging the supremacy of the crown in all matters ecclesiastical; no man more so. And Cranmer and Latimer held the king to be right in his claim for a divorce from Queen Katherine. It was impossible for the king to believe them heretics, Cranmer or Latimer, good subjects both, and the king's loyal servants. Heresy and treason were the unpardonable offences in Henry's mind. Heresy was the denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass. Treason was to question that the king was rightly head of the Church. Public expression of treason, or even the refusal to affirm the royal supremacy, brought death — a traitor's death. Publicly to deny the Catholic teaching on the Mass and to continue obstinately in that denial was to incur death by fire, the penalty for heresy.

The business of the divorce provoked the repudiation of the pope's authority. It was the beginning of troubles.

The king's divorce brought Wolsey, cardinal and chancellor, archbishop of York and papal legate, to ruin and raised Thomas Cranmer to the throne of Canterbury. It brought martyrdom to Blessed Thomas More and John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, to Carthusian monks and Franciscan friars. It raised an obscure and unscrupulous, but exceedingly efficient adventurer, one Thomas Cromwell, to an earldom and the highest office in the state, before he proceeded to the scaffold and the headman's axe.

For the sake of getting his divorce Henry, with the support of lords spiritual and temporal, of convocations of clergy and house of commons, spurned the authority of Rome, denounced allegiance to the pope, and placed *Ecclesia Anglicana,* the Church in England, in schism.

In 1527 it first became known that Henry had scruples

concerning the lawfulness of his marriage. Katherine had been his brother Arthur's wife. True, that marriage had not been consummated, for Arthur, who was but a boy and delicate, died soon after the espousals. True, Pope Julius II had willingly given a dispensation for marriage with a deceased husband's brother, and hitherto no doubts had been whispered that the marriage was invalid. Nevertheless Henry, with the passage of years, perceived a growing doubt. His conscience was pricked. No male heir had been born to him; Katherine's offspring had all died save one — a daughter, Mary. Katherine was now too old to bear children. God, it seemed, was not well pleased with His faithful servant Henry. In marrying his dead brother's wife Henry had unwittingly done wrong; had violated God's law. No true marriage was this marriage with Katherine. Therefore it must be annulled.

Besides, there was a young lady at the court with whom the king was utterly infatuated, one Anne Boleyn, daughter of a country knight, and niece of the Duke of Norfolk. Henry, consenting to carnal weakness, had been intimate with a sister of Anne's, but Anne herself emphatically declined to become the king's mistress. Henry must marry her, she would be no plaything. And Anne stuck to that, and held out for lawful wedlock through the years of waiting while the king's business dragged wearily on, and the courts and chancelleries of Europe watched and wondered what the issue would be. Henry, his appetite aroused, his conscientious scruples enlarged, could not believe Pope Clement would refuse to oblige the king of England, the religious king of England, defender of the faith and enemy of the Lutheran heresy. The pope must be made to understand that the bull and brief of his predecessor Julius could not really make valid a marriage that was against God's law, and that could not, under any circumstances be made valid, however long it had seemed to last. Twenty years, namely, had now passed since the dispensing bull and brief of Pope Julius were issued; the brief that allowed the marriage with Henry even if marriage had already been consummated with Arthur.

But Pope Clement could not be made to understand anything of the kind. The Emperor Charles V was the nephew of Queen Katherine, and the Emperor Charles had but lately let loose a horde of ruffianly soldiers for the despoiling of Rome, in revenge for the pope's alliance with the emperor's enemy, the king of France. It was no time for a pope in narrow circumstances to give fresh offence to the emperor, nor could he grant Henry's request on the merits of the case.

At the same time Pope Clement wanted to keep on good terms with the king of England. Delay and again delay was the papal policy, even though Henry's request could not be granted. To declare such a marriage annulled was to make invalid the dispensation of Pope Julius, and that was hardly possible — the more especially when the wife was the emperor's aunt, and a lady of unimpeachable virtue and utterly irreproachable conduct. Even Henry never held Katherine to be at fault in her life, or to be blamable for the marriage. Only when Katherine declined the advice of the king's pliant counsellors and would not retire to a convent and admit her marriage no true marriage, was Henry displeased.

The business of the divorce dragged on for six years.

Wolsey, thinking the king had planned a marriage with a princess of France, and anxious for political reasons to forward such a marriage, endeavoured by threats and arguments to bring the pope to compliance. Aware of Henry's infatuation for Anne Boleyn it never occurred to Wolsey that the king meant to marry the young woman, or that she had firmness enough to insist upon marriage. When he was told that it was in order to marry Anne that the divorce was needed Wolsey, taken by surprise, did what he could to forward the scheme, but his influence was gone. Cardinal Wolsey, for all his astuteness in foreign politics, had failed at home. His grandeur and his magnificence, his absorption of the revenues of bishoprics and benefices, his indifference to the feelings of English nobles, his desire for a great college at Oxford, and a school at Ipswich that would leave him with the fame of a William of Wykeham — in none of these things had Wolsey endeared himself to his fellows. Preoc-

cupied with high politics and dreams of further greatness for himself and his king, blinded to what was taking place before his eyes, Wolsey was powerless to act when at last he awoke to the problem; the unexpected problem how to arrange for this woman, Anne Boleyn, to be joined in holy matrimony with the king.

Still, he did what he could for Anne's marriage; and it came to nothing. Therefore Wolsey fell from the king's favour and died, dying penitently, confessing his many faults, before his royal master could put him to death for his failure.

Others were ready to fulfil the king's commands, though none could persuade the pope to disallow the marriage with Katherine.

Sir Thomas More, whom the king made chancellor in Wolsey's room, knew the king, and knew what it meant to cross the royal will. But More also knew that though the king had made him lord chancellor, the king could not compel him to do the king's will in an action palpably unjust. More never claimed to speak for anyone but himself, and for him it was impossible to say it was right that the queen should be set aside and declared no true wife. Henry wanted More on his side, just as he wanted that light of the younger humanists, Reginald Pole. It hurt the royal sensibility that so upright and so learned a man as More, the king's friend, and a friend chosen for high office in the state, distinguished by many tokens of the king's favour, could not be persuaded to see the royal point of view. It made Henry think the worse of mankind when More, his chancellor, retained a different opinion and would not be convinced by royal arguments. The king must be right, and More could not see it. The king was distressed. More's attitude was a reproach and that was intolerable. But not yet was the royal will so inflamed against opposition that all who dared utter contrary opinion or even silently disapprove must be sent to the scaffold. Reginald Pole was allowed to leave England to continue his studies in Italy. Sir Thomas More was allowed to live in retirement, and in the home life at Chelsea, in the circle of his family, await events. Thomas Cranmer, Thomas

Cromwell, and Stephen Gardiner were more useful instruments than ever Sir Thomas More could be; more serviceable tools to a king passionately and impatiently seeking his own will. For Henry, every year of delay sharpened the appetite of desire, and at all costs he must have his way.

These three men, Gardiner, Cranmer, and Cromwell, are the three chief agents in the work of separating the Church in England from Catholic unity. Latimer's influence as a popular preacher of disaffection against the papacy is not to be underrated, but Latimer held no office of state; he was never in the king's confidence. Though he was rewarded with the bishopric of Worcester in the year of crisis (1535), yet during the latter part of Henry's reign, when suspicion of heresy fell on him, and the taking of wives by clergy was strictly forbidden, Latimer discreetly declined from episcopal activity and nourished the safety of private life.

Both Gardiner and Cromwell had been in Wolsey's service. Cranmer, when the king first heard of him, was a quiet Cambridge tutor, studious and bookish, a clerk who figured unostentatiously in discussions of the "new learning." While privately reputed a Lutheran, he publicly obtruded no heresy.

Stephen Gardiner, also a Cambridge man, more humanist and student of canon law than theologian, as a matter of course adopted the king's side. In his notions of Church and State, the State was the predominate partner, and Gardiner would have been classed "Erastian" in a later century. It was Gardiner who led the embassy to Pope Clement and urged on the unhappy pontiff, but just escaped from the sack of Rome, that it would be well if the king's business were settled in England without any further appeal. Gardiner also reminded the pope of the value of the king of England's support, and how heavy the loss to the papacy were that support withdrawn. A letter addressed to the pope and signed by the lords spiritual and temporal of England (a few notable names are not on the list), expressed a similar opinion, with similar warning of danger to the papacy were the king of England denied his request for divorce.

The pope temporised, sending Cardinal Campeggio to try the king's cause in London in conjunction with Wolsey. This trial in London came to nothing, for Katherine refused to acknowledge its jurisdiction, and claimed, as she had a right to claim, that she appealed to Rome.

Gardiner was thought to have done so well in his negotiations with the pope, in his handling of the king's business, and his conspicuous loyalty to the king's majesty, that he was rewarded with a rich bishopric, the see of Winchester. As yet neither Gardiner nor Henry contemplated any repudiation of the pope's supremacy. The pope's decision was required, because the pope was the supreme head of Christendom. Gardiner came into conflict with Bishop Fisher when the cause of the king's divorce became a public matter, a subject of general interest. For the king, having invited his loyal subjects freely to speak their minds when the case was opened before Campeggio and Wolsey, the bishop of Rochester did so. To the king's extreme resentment the bishop, whom men revered for his holy living, vigorously denounced the annulling of the king's marriage, and declared that for his own part he was ready to die in defence of holy matrimony, "like John the Baptist of old."

Gardiner replied to Bishop Fisher's tracts against the divorce, was present when Anne Boleyn was crowned as Henry's consort, and openly styled the venerable prelate a "traitor."

While Gardiner, with Tunstall and many of the abbots, came slowly to the acceptance of the king's supremacy over the Church and the abolishing of the papal jurisdiction, Cranmer and Cromwell entered the king's service with minds long made up on both points — in favour of the royal sovereignty in religion, and against the least acknowledgment of the pope. They worked together for the overthrow of the old religion, but apart from the matter of getting rid of the pope's authority, the two shared no common faith. Their characters stand contrasted. Cranmer, hesitant and uncertain in mind — except for a whole-hearted submission to the Lutheran dogma of salvation through

faith alone — doubted the truth of Transubstantiation, and puzzled over the various Protestant versions long before he formally abandoned the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. That the sovereign lord must be also the supreme head of the church in each land was for Cranmer as true as it was necessary. How else could the "new learning" be preached? A final authority in religion there must be in every land, and since the pope was the great obstacle to reform, the papal authority must be displaced and the king's authority accepted in its stead. Correspondence with German Lutherans brought news of success where the prince supported the "new learning."

Cromwell's adventurous life included residence in Italy. There he had read Machiavelli's writings, and he advised Cardinal Pole to read them — so the latter said. Indifferent to the creeds of men, convinced that tyranny was the right thing for a strong state, that religion and its priests must be subordinate to the crown, and all allegiance to a pope in Italy abolished, Cromwell, ruthless, without pity for man or maid, intensely eager for money (which Thomas Cranmer never was), proved himself to be the perfect agent for King Henry VIII. The hour brought the man when the king, feverishly impatient at the long frustration of desire, made Cromwell his chancellor of the exchequer. This was in 1532, the year when Sir Thomas More resigned the chancellorship, and death came for old Archbishop Warham.

Warham had consented to the recognition of the king as supreme head of the Church in England, with the qualifying phrase, "so far as is allowed by the law of Christ," and he had protested formally against recent enactments that encroached on the pope's authority and the ecclesiastical authority of the province of Canterbury. The tide was flowing swiftly, but how soon the old landmarks of religion would be washed away, and how near was the hour of separation of England from the Holy See, Warham had not foretold. Parliament at the bidding of the king had now passed an act forbidding the payment of first-fruits on benefices (*annates*) to Rome, and the houses of convocation had signed "submis-

sion," promising to enact no new canons or constitutions without the king's license, and generally to do nothing without the consent of the king and parliament. But the pope still had his nuncio in England, and the king had hinted that there was yet time for the pope to grant the divorce and in that case the first-fruits could be restored.

The king, A.D. 1532, was in difficulties over the divorce. Queen Katherine had appealed to Rome for judgment and now it was known that sooner or later the pope would give judgment in her favour. Henry, therefore, was driven to hinder the pope from giving that judgment; and to use all means of delay and postponement to prevent the publication of an adverse verdict. It was no longer a king complaining of the pope's procrastination, it was a king placing every obstruction in a pope's way. The pope was still the supreme head of Christendom. On the other hand, while the papal judgment must at all costs be delayed, since its publication would bind him to Katherine, Henry could not afford to delay any longer his marriage with Anne Boleyn. For Anne was with child, and the child to be heir to the throne must be born in wedlock.

The death of Archbishop Warham showed Henry the way out of his ugly dilemma. Thomas Cranmer, who had advised getting the opinion of the universities on the question of the divorce, should be made archbishop; and Cranmer would give judgment — on the king's side — and thus make valid the marriage with Anne.

Cranmer was at Ratisbon, as Henry's ambassador to the emperor, when Warham died, and he followed the emperor's court into Italy. At Mantua he received letters recalling him to England and was informed that the king had chosen him to succeed Archbishop Warham of Canterbury. Cranmer, of course, understood what this implied. He had been chaplain in the Boleyn family, and his opinion on the divorce was well known. He was required to finish the king's business. Ambition can no more be attributed to Thomas Cranmer than the possession of an itching palm. He came back unhurriedly. For one thing, while in Germany, and associating

with the Protestant theologians, Cranmer had taken for his second wife the niece of a prominent reformer, "Osiander." The marriage, of course, was uncanonical — a priest could not marry — but it need attract no particular reproof. (Wolsey had kept a mistress without censure.) A married archbishop — and Thomas Cranmer was no loose-living man to keep mistresses, for he believed in legal marriage as his royal master did — was a spectacle that England hitherto had never enjoyed, and the king would probably disapprove. Mrs. Cranmer was kept in the background and her husband returned to be duly consecrated archbishop, and to sit in the chair of Augustine and Dunstan, of Anselm and the martyred Thomas, of Stephen Langton and St. Edmund Rich. Cranmer at the consecration took the customary oaths of obedience to the pope, but he called witnesses to take note that the oaths were nothing but a mere and unbinding formality.

The necessary bulls were procured from the pope for Cranmer's appointment and a priest, named Edmund Bonner, formerly in Wolsey's service and now actively employed in Henry's diplomatic missions, helped to get with the bulls exemption from payment of first-fruits.

Rapidly, with Cranmer enthroned at Canterbury, did Henry conclude his business. The marriage with Anne had been secretly performed in January (1533). In May, Cranmer held his court at Dunstable, pronounced the king's marriage with Katherine invalid, and a day or two later declared lawful the new marriage with Anne.

With Cranmer doing all that was necessary to secure the succession, Cromwell could devote himself to the king's work in coercing parliament and the houses of convocation. The house of commons, in the main an assembly of men chosen and sent by royal command, and the house of lords, both compliantly passed acts prohibiting all further appeals to Rome, forbidding all bulls of excommunication being brought in to England, abolishing the payment of Peter's Pence and of annates, and ordering all bishops to be elected henceforth by priories or deans and chapters, on receipt of

the king's *conge d'elire,* which also brought the name of the person nominated by the king. If there were any hesitation or delay the king would fill the vacancy by letters patent at the end of twelve days. All licenses and dispensations formerly obtained from Rome were henceforth to be procured from the archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Fisher, of course, opposed, but he stood alone for the most part. The king had excused from attendance in the house of lords bishops and nobles known to be unfavourable to the royal policy, prelates not yet prepared for open schism.

When at last the pope pronounced the long delayed sentence in favour of Katherine the king had already got from parliament an act of succession declaring Mary illegitimate and Elizabeth heir to the crown. To the threat of excommunication, Henry replied with the decree of his council that the pope had no more authority than any other foreign bishop and must in future be styled, "Bishop of Rome."

At the end of 1534 parliament passed a new act, declaring the king to be head of the Church in England, and in January, 1535, the king's council ordered that by this act of supremacy Henry must be entitled, "on earth supreme head of the Church in England."

The revolution was accomplished. The resentment at the pope's inability to oblige the king's desire drove Henry to revenge himself on the pope; fatal compliancy on the part of bishops and abbots, fostered the king's appetite for power. In that year memorable in the history of the Church in England, A.D. 1535, the schism was made, the papal authority overthrown, and many sorrows ensued.

The first period in the progress of the Reformation in England closed in 1535 with consequences unforeseen.

Chapter III

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY: IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES

Summary

The religious position in England, A.D. 1535 ✦ the sudden conversion to royal supremacy ✦ the sharp division ✦ Catholic humanists ✦ demoralisation in the houses of religion caused by Cromwell's visitors ✦ attitude to the papacy of Cromwell and of Cranmer; of Gardiner and of Tunstall; of the Carthusians and More and Fisher ✦ confusion and weakness in high places ✦ leaders in religion affected by the "new learning" ✦ the martyrs ✦ Henry's need of money ✦ lesser houses of religion suppressed ✦ plunder and destruction of shrines ✦ St. Thomas of Canterbury condemned ✦ pilgrimage of grace ✦ dissolution of the greater monasteries ✦ Henry's stand against heresy ✦ the position at Henry's death.

CHRONOLOGY

Europe

1536 Danish church made Lutheran by royal edict. Beginning of Calvin's ministry at Geneva.
1540 Society of Jesus constituted in Rome.
1542 St. Francis Xavier in India.
1545–47 Council of Trent: first sessions.

Great Britain

1535 English parliament passes act of supremacy, making the king supreme head of the Church in England. Execution of Carthusian monks, John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More.
1536 Smaller monasteries dissolved. Popular rising in the north — the Pilgrimage of Grace.
1538 Destruction of shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. The king declared excommunicate by Pope Paul III.
1539 Remaining monasteries dissolved.

Chapter III

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY: IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES

In the year 1535 came the separation from the Holy See, and with that separation fell a sharply dividing line within the Church in England. The group of Catholic humanists was split when Tunstall and Gardiner accepted the king's supremacy. With that break-up all hope of the renovation of the Church in England perished.

The very abruptness of the change brought confusion and dismay to numbers of the clergy and the laity who had never given a thought to the question of church government. It had been taken for granted that the pope was the head of the Church, but the doctrine had been held unintelligently and without affection. It had always been so — the papal supremacy — since the first days when Pope Gregory sent St. Augustine to England. And before that, in the time of the Romans, when St. Alban was martyred, it was the pope to whom all good Christians looked for guidance. No one in England, save persons of doubtful repute, talked of the Church, *Ecclesia Anglicana,* not being subject to the pope. Only in these latter days, according to the newfangled ideas of the German Lutherans, was it said there was no need for the pope's existence. Some who were not heretics spoke savagely of the pope's authority, and without reproof. For now in England it was the king himself, and the king's minister Cromwell, and the king's new archbishop of Canterbury, who forbad all further obedience to the pope; and parliament had suddenly proclaimed the king to be head of the church in place of the pope, and the king had made this upstart layman, Thomas Cromwell, his vicar general. What would happen next no man could say.

To add to the perplexities, Thomas Cromwell had his spies everywhere, and his delegates had officially visited the houses of religion to require the oath of royal obedience from abbots and priors. With doubt and dismay came utter demoralisation in many a monastery when Cromwell's visitors had departed. Discipline was inevitably relaxed. The ordered life of prayer and study, rudely invaded by Cromwell's agents, could hardly be restored. In vain did abbots and priors, abbesses and prioresses, try to buy off their visitors by presents of money; in vain, for the most part, were the oaths of obedience taken to the new head of the church. Cromwell and his agents would not be content till the lands and treasure of the monks and nuns were given to the king, and the inmates of convent and monastery dispersed.

Within the monasteries in that year, when the souls of men and women were sifted to the uttermost, the clash of wills, the strife of bitter argument, banished peace. Some doubted the justice of the royal supremacy; others were openly sympathetic with the "new learning," the more since it was rumoured that king and archbishop were favourably inclined to the Lutherans; the jangle of contradictory opinions shattered the quiet of the cloister. No longer under the pope — distracted by the command to erase from the service book of the altar the prayer for the pope in the canon of the Mass — no longer subject to the bishops now that the king was supreme head and Thomas Cromwell, the king's vicar general, monks and nuns, friars and canons regular were all, in this new and disturbed condition, at a loss to know what was the true doctrine of obedience in Church and State. Faced by problems never hitherto raised, groping for light in a world where for many truth was no longer clear, confronted by events that were outside the help of experience, monks and nuns were summoned to answer a question of the gravest import; to answer it for themselves and for their brethren; and to answer it in one way, and in one way only — the king's way. The doom of the "holy maid of Kent," that pious nun, Elizabeth Barton, and her companions, who had witnessed against the king's marriage with Anne; the

doom of the Carthusian monks, and of the friars of Franciscan Observance; of Sir Thomas More, but recently lord chancellor, and of Bishop John of Rochester, was the penalty for not giving the answer required by Cromwell's agents. And men and women do not relish martyrdom unless they hold for God's truth what they are called upon to die for.

The doctrine of papal supremacy had been generally taken for granted; it was not held intelligently except by a few; it was nonsense to the king's vicar general, and it was at variance with Archbishop Cranmer's otherwise not-too-positive beliefs.

To Cromwell the pope was no spiritual power but the ruler of an Italian princedom, with ridiculous pretensions to universal supremacy; to the king the pope was now merely bishop of Rome, an unworthy prelate who had forfeited the good will of the king of England. Bishops and nobles, abbots and abbesses, priors and prioresses were called upon to swear that the pope was a foreign bishop without jurisdiction over the Catholics of England. Bishops and nobles, abbots and abbesses, priors and prioresses, therefore, took the oath tendered to them, so grave was the pressure, so deep the perplexity. Only the few, the very few, found the oath impossible and, not taking it, followed the way of the cross.

To many a noble — and the nobility were mostly new men who had come to the front under Henry VII, the wars of the roses having uprooted the older baronage — Cardinal Wolsey, papal legate and lord chancellor, had been so obviously head of the Church and State that it was not particularly startling to be told that now and henceforth the king was head. What was the pope to English nobles but a bishop in Italy who got money out of England and did nothing for England in return?

The heads of religion included men already disaffected from the old religion and willing to follow where Cranmer and Latimer led. Many a simple prior confessed, and the letters remain,[1] that hitherto he had always believed the

[1] *The Dominicans in England,* by Bede Jarrett, may be consulted for specimens of these letters.

pope to be the supreme head of the Church, but, as he understood it, this belief was only a human opinion and not of divine revelation. Therefore, being called upon to give up what was without divine sanction, he obeyed, since obedience was most certainly due to his sovereign lord and king.

The doctrine of papal supremacy was assailed, and in sheer ignorance of what was the truth of the matter, the doctrine was abandoned by the clergy ordained to maintain the Catholic Faith and preach the Catholic truth. The Council of Florence, but a hundred years earlier (1438), at the close of the great schism, had declared the primacy of the pope an article of faith, but neither papalists nor anti-papalists cited the council's decree as evidence. Ignorance of the doctrine of the Church, perplexity of mind, timidity that shrank from bodily torment, love grown cold, all these qualities are displayed by the prelates who made submission to the royal will at the summons of Thomas Cromwell. Other qualities are also displayed and other motives; covetousness, avarice, and lust of power.

Perplexity among clergy and laity was spread by the conduct and avowed beliefs of men prominent in religion, of secular priests whom Henry raised to the episcopate.

Robert Holgate, professed in the Gilbertine Order, and the head of the whole Order, became chaplain to Henry VIII, and was rewarded for his helpful support of the crown by being made bishop of Llandaff and president of the council of the north. With that achieved, he signed the surrender of the twenty-four houses of the Order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham and hastened the suppression of the Order. No scandal had disfigured the religious life of the nuns and monks of this, the only religious Order founded in England, no enemy of monasticism could reproach the sons and daughters of St. Gilbert, but Robert Holgate, having received an "ample grant for life" in return for his brisk compliance, went on to become archbishop of York, to take a wife in the days of Edward VI, and turn iconoclast and Calvinist. Tables were turned when he was made to suffer imprisonment under Mary Tudor, but he was released on ex-

pressing his regret, and died in London reconciled to the faith he had once trampled upon.

John Bird, a Carmelite friar, was the provincial of the English Carmelites in 1516. Yet he supported both the royal divorce and the royal supremacy. After being made bishop, first of Llandaff then of the richer see of Chester, he also married. Of course he was deprived under Mary Tudor, but, on expressing his orthodoxy, he was gladly employed by Bonner, bishop of London, as a suffragan bishop.

William Barlow, an Augustinian Canon, early drawn into Lutheranism and regarded favourably by Anne Boleyn, believed as Cranmer did, that appointment by the crown was sufficient to turn a priest into a bishop without ceremony of consecration. On confessing to the king the error of his heretical opinions (the term Protestant did not come into common use for some years after the protest of the Lutheran minority at the diet of Spires, in 1529) he was duly made bishop of St. Asaph and then of St. David's; to the vexing of the people of Wales, who openly denounced him for a heretic. Under Edward VI, Barlow, promoted to the see of Bath and Wells, married. He resigned on Mary's accession, left England and returned under Elizabeth to become bishop of Chichester and the consecrator of Matthew Parker.

Paul Bush was provincial and provost of the Augustinian friars, but that did not hinder him from becoming chaplain to Henry VIII, bishop of Bristol, and marrying. Not that Bush was drawn to the "new learning." He remained Catholic at heart and resigning on Mary's accession, to escape being deprived, lived undisturbed, and died in quietness.

Other ex-Augustinian friars were prominently arrayed against the pope: (1) Robert Barnes, the prior of Cambridge, after abjuring an early Lutheranism, traveling abroad in Cromwell's service and falling out with Stephen Gardiner, was subsequently burnt by the king's orders for a heretic under an act of attainder. (2) Miles Coverdale, a Cambridge friend of Barnes, married and held a Lutheran pastorate in Germany. He had a large part in the translation of the first English Bible (1540) and of the psalms in the Edwardian

Book of Common Prayer. After being made bishop of Exeter by Edward VI, deprived under Mary and allowed to leave England, he returned on Elizabeth's accession to find his opinions too narrow for the Anglican establishment, and at the age of eighty was left to die in poverty. (3) George Browne, the provincial of the Augustinian friars, was credited with officiating at the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn. He was appointed to act with John Hilsey, the Dominican provincial, as visitor to the convents and priories of the five Orders of friars, and to require the oath of obedience from these houses. Browne was rewarded for his activities by being given the archbishopric of Dublin.

John Hilsey was not the only prominent Dominican, elected to office by the friars, who joined in the harrying of the regular clergy. (It was the same Hilsey who complained of Latimer's preaching at Bristol, whom Henry ordered to be elected provincial and then promoted to the see of Rochester.) John Scory, Dominican prior at Cambridge, went the whole way with Cranmer and Cromwell in the suppression of religious houses, and under Edward VI was so thoroughly Protestant that he was made bishop of Rochester and, after marrying, bishop of Chichester. When he was deprived at Mary's accession, Scory renounced his wife, and his Protestant opinions. Having been absolved, he officiated in London with Bonner's license. But before Mary died Scory went abroad and at Geneva discovered that Protestantism was after all the creed for him. So he came back to England and was one of Elizabeth's bishops.

The career of John Hodgkin, the Dominican provincial immediately before Hilsey's appointment, was very similar to Scory's. Hodgkin was made suffragan bishop of Bedford under Henry, took a wife under Edward VI, put her away under Mary, and on expressing repentance was forgiven his lapse into heresy and received a benefice in the city of London. He lived long enough to conform under Elizabeth and to assist at the consecration of Parker.

When now, in addition to the vagaries of these heads of religion, a powerful preacher like Hugh Latimer, known to

be sympathetic to the "new learning," was made bishop of Worcester in that same year 1535, it was inevitable that the faith of many within and without the houses of religion should waver, that old loyalties should be shattered.

Pressure came from both sides to compel surrender to the king: from Cranmer and Latimer, who were favourable to the Lutheran doctrine; and from Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, apart from disavowal of the pope, stood in the old paths.

Gardiner attacked Bishop Fisher over the divorce and grossly libeled him in a satire written against the papacy (*Si sedes illa*). The bishop of Rochester was a traitor, Gardiner insists upon it; and as for the separation from Rome, Gardiner rejoiced in it: "I beseech his goodness it may continue for ever." In a larger work — *De vera obedientia*[2] published in that same year 1535, Gardiner argued the case for the royal supremacy against the papal dominion, taking a line used by some members of the Anglican communion in our own times. It is a piece of writing moderate in tone and comparatively respectful to the Holy See; it allows that the pope has a primacy of honour among bishops and frankly acknowledges the author's former belief in the pope's supremacy. Gardiner never has any doubt that there is but one Catholic Faith, only he cannot admit that the supremacy of the pope is an article of that faith. The king being the head of the realm and the bulwark against revolution must also be the head of the Church in his realm. Arguments from the Sacred Scriptures are advanced by the author, who wrote chiefly to win over the German Lutherans to Henry's side in the event of the Emperor making war on the king of England. Next, the argument from secular history is set out — the supremacy of Justinian and Constantine in the early centuries, and in England the sovereignty of the Anglo-Saxon kings in church and state. True, the pope's supremacy had been tolerated in the past, but also it had been restricted. "In the old time the church of Rome was of great authority."

[2]Consult *Obedience in Church and State* by Stephen Gardiner. Edited by Pierre Janelle (Cambridge University Press, 1930).

But now no foreign bishop ought to have authority, for the king is supreme. And though in the past princes permitted their subjects to take counsel of Rome, it was not right for them to give up their supremacy, since this supremacy was from God. Returning again to the Scriptural argument, Gardiner is persuaded that the supremacy awarded to St. Peter in the New Testament is no more than a primacy. The practical conclusion is that as a matter of fact "all are now agreed in England to acknowledge the king as supreme and to bid the bishop of Rome farewell."

There is no discussion in this *De vera obedientia* of the source of the royal power or of the doctrinal basis of the pope's supremacy. But Gardiner felt constrained to answer the charge of disloyalty and treachery to the Holy See; he had taken vows of obedience to the pope whom he now renounced. Yes, but he had taken an earlier vow at his baptism, a vow to truth; it was because that earlier vow had been forgotten that now he had returned to it. No man was bound to perform an unlawful oath, and the earlier oath made the latter unlawful.

The Lutherans saw in the printing of Gardiner's treatise, useful propaganda against the pope. At Strasbourg, where Bucer was responsible for its publication, they at once fastened on this point the voidance of the earlier oath, and in the English version insisted that the marriage of priests was a similar amendment of an early and wrong vow of chastity. Bonner, always ready to give any help in the king's service, wrote a preface for the English translation that was issued at Rouen the next year.

The written reply to Gardiner *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione* came from Reginald Pole, whom Henry hated for his refusal to support the divorce.

Another answer had been given by the martyrs of the London Charterhouse, by the friars of the Observance, and by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor of England. These were the few who could be brought to approve neither the divorce nor the re-

pudiation of the pope. They were men of prayer and of single mind.

On May 4, 1535, the first group of martyrs went to the scaffold; Richard Reynolds, a learned divine, who belonged to the monastery of the Bridgettine Order at Sheen, near Richmond, with John Haile, vicar of Isleworth, a secular priest, and the priors of the Carthusian monasteries in London, at Axholme, and at Beauvais in Nottinghamshire. All suffered at Tyburn, and the horrible sentence passed on them for high treason was performed, as many witnessed, with exceptional savagery. Not one of the five had wished to depart from the life of prayer, to be embroiled in controversy, or to be involved in the question of the king's divorce. Cromwell's visitors would not allow any escape from martyrdom except by the broad road of subservience to royal command. In vain the Carthusian priors appealed personally to Cromwell, that they might be allowed to continue undisturbed in the accustomed rule of meditation. The very London jury would not find guilt of treason in men whose holiness and simplicity was apparent to all until Cromwell threatened them. In this way the first martyrs, who could not be persuaded that the king was the supreme head of the Church, answered Gardiner and died. Not till 150 years later did the red rain cease to fall at Tyburn, and the executions under penal laws, that made loyalty to the Faith a treasonable offence, cease to be allowed.

For over a year Sir Thomas More and John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, lay in prison in the Tower, for they were of one mind that the king could not be supreme head of the Church on earth, since the pope and none other was the head. Both More and Fisher were willing enough to acknowledge the right of parliament to decide the accession to the throne in favour of Anne's daughter, Elizabeth, to the exclusion of Mary; things of Cæsar may be rendered to Cæsar. That the pope and not Henry, king of England, was head of the Church was an article of faith not to be surrendered. He was no mere Italian prince or bishop of Rome, but Christ's vicar on earth, the pope, to More and Fisher,

and they were clear-sighted men who saw in the denial of the pope's authority separation from Catholic unity. Though all the rest of the hierarchy in England, with nobles, abbots, and the great ones of the land decided otherwise, More and Fisher could not swerve. Truth, unchanging truth, held their allegiance. Pardon and a king's favour could not tempt them to depart. As More put it to his accusers, he could not change his conscience and conform to the council of one realm against the general council of Christendom.

Pope Paul III, the successor of Clement VII, thought to save Bishop Fisher's life by creating him cardinal. The one result was that Henry's hatred flamed the fiercer against the pope and his cardinal, and revenge for the pope's action was hastened.

Three more monks of the London charterhouse were slain at Tyburn, on May 19, for refusing to take the king for head of the Church. Five days later Bishop Fisher was beheaded on Tower Hill. He was an old man, over seventy-five years, and on the morning of his martyrdom slept peacefully in his cell till the hour of execution. On July 6 Sir Thomas More climbed the scaffold on Tower Hill, in grave good humour, telling the crowd that he suffered death in the faith and for the faith of the Catholic Church, and asking the prayers of all. So he was slain. He was but little more than fifty-six years old when the king slew him. "Did nature ever frame a sweeter, happier character than that of More?" Erasmus had written. But that was when More was twenty, on the threshold of life. To the natural sweetness had been added strength and wisdom and great charity. In that year of temptation the martyred Carthusians and their companions emerged gloriously in their heroism above contemporaries who remained entangled in doubt and confused in conduct because their motives were mixed. The meekness of these first martyrs is as sharply contrasted with the craft and cruelty of Thomas Cromwell's clerical agents, as is their clear vision with the darkened counsel of the worldlings who did the king's will.

The old bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More stand

out the more brightly as the shadows fall on the land they loved so well. Nor have the centuries dimmed their memory. Time has discovered no evidence to lessen the reputation of Blessed Thomas More; rather has it restored his fame, so that he lives for ever in the affection of men of good will and commands respect in all nations.

When the king and Cromwell got rid of More and Fisher they silenced the opposition. They struck down the greatest layman of the time, great as a man of letters, and but recently the king's chancellor; and a bishop rare because fearless, famous for his learning and for his holiness.

The execution of the Carthusians, blameless in life, known to everybody for their strict following of religion and complete unworldliness, put terror into the hearts of clergy and laity throughout England; as it was meant to do. The fate of these holy men, drawn on hurdles to Tyburn in the habits of their order, that all might see what happened to monks who incurred the king's displeasure, was the fate reserved for abbots and priors who declined to be of the king's way of thinking. Abbots and priors shuddered at the alternative to obedience and were frightened into submission.

Cromwell, with the king's council to back him, did the king's service, and the opposition was silenced.

The road was now open for despoiling monks and nuns of their lands, and dissolving the religious Orders. Cromwell's visitors, sent to exact the oath to the royal supremacy, had met reluctance in the houses of the friars of the Franciscan Observance. All seven houses were suppressed, their inmates imprisoned, exiled, or killed. Two of these friaries, Greenwich and Richmond, were of recent creation, endowed by Henry VII.

Then attention was directed to the smaller houses, monasteries and convents of nuns, and parliament and convocation agreed that the members of these communities would be better off in the larger houses. So in the year 1536, following the precedent set by Wolsey when he closed a number of small monasteries to provide funds for his school at Ipswich and his college at Oxford, all houses of religion of a rental

under £200 a year — to the number of 215 monasteries, and 103 convents of women — were suppressed and their inmates sent elsewhere. There could be no appeal to the pope for protection, since the king was now pope. The episcopate had no jurisdiction, and expressed no desire to interfere.

For the next four years the work of plunder and pillage went merrily on. It was an orgy of theft and corruption.

The king wanted money for his own extravagances, and he wanted money to stiffen the loyalty of his subjects. Cromwell's clerical visitors, unsavoury characters with abnormal scent for treasure, declared that monks and nuns were far from living godly lives, and parliament at once agreed that the property of monks and nuns would be better given to the king.

Cranmer supported the suppression of the monasteries because he wanted the religious Orders abolished. Monasteries and friaries, abbeys and priories, were stumblingblocks to the spread of the Protestant teaching. In these houses of religion the doctrines of purgatory, of the sacrifice of the Mass for the living and the dead, were steadily maintained; the worship of Our Lady and devotion to the saints were encouraged; pilgrimages and other ancient customs of the faithful were kept alive.

Cranmer also wanted revenues for the new bishoprics of Peterborough and Oxford, which the king had decreed.

With the spoils of the monasteries Henry was able to quiet the scruples and appease the hostility of many who were inclined to doubt the lawfulness of the royal supremacy.

As to the monks and nuns, they accepted, in many cases without sign of reluctance, the proposal to be dismissed with a life pension. From the heads of the various houses came small objection — always provided a satisfactory benefice was awarded to the dispossessed abbot or prior. When reluctance was exhibited, and it was reported to Cromwell that the abbey was a particularly handsome property, sharp measures were taken to remove hesitant abbots from their posts. Hence, Richard Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury, was put to death for a traitor; as also were the abbots

of Reading and Colchester. Acts of attainder made the lands and riches of these famous abbeys the perquisite of the king.

It is impossible to give anything but an approximate estimate of the total plunder. In a list of fifty-two houses of monks and friars the land and movables are estimated at £145,400; in ten convents of nuns the estimate is £1,650.[3] A careful examination has put the total number of religious cast adrift at about seven thousand; of the layfolk attached to the monasteries and convents at 25,000. But there is no finality in these figures.[4]

Consenting heads of houses came off well enough, with good benefices and allowances. The hard cases were the monks and nuns, aged and infirm, their promised pensions difficult to get, thrown on a world that knew them not. And the common people in turn suffered by the destruction, for the robbery of the poor was on a vast scale and the rapacity of the new landowners was in marked contrast to the easy-going rule of the religious. Even Latimer, in the midst of an enthusiastic campaign for the destruction of shrines and statues in churches, could plead in 1538 for the retention of monks at Malvern in his Worcestershire diocese, and for "two or three houses in every shire for the sake of the poor."

But opposition was silenced — abbots sat no longer in the House of Lords — and the new nobility fell feverishly on the plunder. Lands, cart loads of stones from the ruined abbeys, lead from the roofs, treasures of gold and silver from sacristy and sanctuary, costly materials — all were taken, and the king and his supporters were amply rewarded for getting rid of the pope's authority. The possession of abbey lands induced a favourable attitude to non-papal religion. Many important families in England, families of the new ruling class, the Cecils and the Russels, may be named — became Protestant and anti-papal, and remained aggressively Protestant and anti-papal. All these families were richly endowed with monastic property and indeed were of no great account before they were thus endowed.

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[3]These figures would equal about £1,800,000 and £20,000 today.

[4]See *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution,* by A. N. Savine, 1909.

More money and yet more money was wanted by the king and his servants. After the houses of religion came the shrines of saints and martyrs, places of pilgrimage, enriched with uncounted offerings of pilgrims, resplendent with the gifts — thank-offerings and bequests — of worshippers and suppliants. The shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury drew pilgrims from all Europe, as Lourdes draws pilgrims to-day. Inherent in men is the desire which, for one motive or another, may draw them forth to go on pilgrimage. As penitents, or as holiday makers and joyous travellers, men and women in all ages take the pilgrim's way. They did so before the coming of Christ. Lutherans and Calvinists thought to uproot this common human instinct, as they thought to uproot many things that are part and parcel of our human nature, things lovely in themselves and belonging to the very fibre of our hearts.

To Cranmer, to Latimer, and to Henry's other new bishops, Shaxton of Salisbury and Barlow in Wales, the veneration of saints and the offering at their shrines were as repugnant as pilgrimages and other good works performed in piety. It was sheer superstition, according to the new Protestant teaching, to think merit could be acquired, the sick cured, or prayer granted by journeys to the tomb of St. Thomas at Canterbury, to the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham, or to any of the numerous lesser places where saints lay buried, the sacred spots and holy wells that exist where Catholic devotion flowers. Sheer superstition, to believe that intercession of the saints or of Christ's Mother brought the miracles of healing that were said to have occurred. Man was saved by believing that Christ died to save him, and nothing that man did could affect his salvation, provided he so believed; that was the new teaching. That there was much we call superstition mixed up with the veneration of relics, and in the extraneous practices of pilgrims, Erasmus and Colet noted. Much buying and selling grows up round a popular shrine; the pilgrimage becomes a matter of business to its organisers; and need be none the worse on that account.

Superstition will spring up, since man is ever inclined to

outstep the wise and happy mean. We are warned against uprooting the wheat with the cockle, "lest perhaps gathering up the cockle you root up the wheat also with it."[5] The warning was ignored by Cranmer and the advocates of the "new learning."

The root of the matter was not distress of mind because superstition mingled with the love and devotion of pilgrims to the sacred shrines. The root of the matter in this destruction of shrines, hallowed by centuries of prayer, was the wealth of treasure these shrines displayed. At Canterbury, beyond all others, the shrine of St. Thomas shone with gold and silver, sparkled with precious stones; so that Henry could not keep his hands off it. Besides, this Thomas Becket, the archbishop, was, as Henry now explained, no better than a traitor to his king; no better than Bishop Fisher, or Thomas More, or the Carthusians. Henry, professing himself enlightened on the history of England's past relations with the pope — as Bishop Gardiner did — declared that Thomas of Canterbury, so far from deserving honour as a saint and a martyr, must be treated with contempt and put to shame for his treason. Many wagon loads of booty, gold and silver, jewels and costly vestments, were filled for the king before the shrine was utterly destroyed. Then, enriched with the plunder, Henry, as head of the Church, ordered all bones and relics of St. Thomas to be burnt as rubbish, office for his feast day on December 29 to be erased from all service books, and the name of the martyred archbishop to be altogether blotted out from the memory of English Catholics. Gardiner and the bishops who held themselves Catholic consented; Cranmer and the bishops of the "new learning" joyfully approved.

This last outrage by the king of England drove the pope to publish the excommunication, drawn up three years back but withheld at the request of the king of France. But only a combination of European powers could have enforced the sentence, while the emperor and Francis I were not prepared

[5]Matt. xiii. 29.

to act together to oblige the pope. The emperor had his own troubles with Lutheran princes, and his aunt, Katherine of Aragon, was dead. Internal dangers did not warrant a crusade against Henry. Francis simply would not risk war with England. Henry dallied with the idea of alliance with Lutheran princes until he found himself relieved of the fear of invasion. Negotiations with the Lutherans broke down when he refused all doctrinal compromise concerning the Mass. As defender of the faith, no less than as head of the Church, Henry could make no concession to heresy, whatever the political grounds for an alliance with heretics.

Fear of rebellion at home passed away with the suppression of risings in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. These risings commanded slight measure of support from the nobles. They were protests of yeomen, craftsmen and peasants, against tyranny, and against intolerable wrong. The men of Lincolnshire were the first to rise. They told their grievances; the monasteries were destroyed, the king's tax gatherers were busy throughout the county, heresy was preached in the churches by clergy who got their opinions from Cranmer and Latimer, and the country was ruined by the king's evil counsellors, by Cromwell in particular.

Formidable in numbers, but without capable leaders, the Lincolnshire men were cajoled into quietness. Scarcely were they persuaded that their wrongs would be mended promptly than the unrest in Yorkshire and throughout the north of England came to a head. It was called the Pilgrimage of Grace, this stand for the old order in religion, and the men who rose wore for badges crosses marked with the five wounds of Christ. Breaking up the religious Orders, destroying monasteries, making the king head of the Church, and holding the pope of no account, were the bitter complaint of the pilgrims of grace, and for the redress of these things they were banded together in revolt.

Henry sent the Duke of Norfolk to appease the tumult, with the promise of a free parliament in the north, to put matters right, and free pardons for all involved. Trusting to this promise the pilgrims of grace took off their badges and

went home. For some months all the north had been in arms, and had a leader of royal blood come forward to support the rising it might have gone hard with Henry to keep the crown. As it was, the king could afford to bide his time for vengeance, to wait till the malcontents were dispersed and then strike. All the promises were ignored, all the pardons granted were disregarded. Futile riots of despairing men were easily stamped out, when the unity of the pilgrimage had gone. The Duke of Norfolk and his troops slaughtered far and wide, and so established peace. A number of abbots and priors, for there were still a few monasteries not yet dissolved, willingly or unwillingly connected with the rising, were hanged — except the more important who were sent to London for execution. Nobles and landowners suffered the same penalty as lesser men. Under the terror of Norfolk's assize every person brought to trial was convicted and hanged. Many were slain whose only crime was their previous appearance in arms. The fact that on the promise of pardon and redress of grievances these men had returned to their homes did not save them from the king's wrath. It was washed out in blood, this declaration of the people of the north of England that they did not consent to the king's policy. Thus this Pilgrimage of Grace remains the witness in history that the destruction of monasteries, the dispersal of religious Orders, the supremacy of the king in the church, were not accomplished in England with the general goodwill of the people of England.

No punishment could be too severe in Henry's judgment for man or woman who crossed the royal will. Reginald Pole, now cardinal and papal legate on the continent, having published his reply to Gardiner's plea for the royal supremacy, Henry received a copy. Attempts instigated by Cromwell to assassinate the author of this reasoned plea for Church unity were unsuccessful. Thereupon Henry struck down Pole's relatives in England and finally ordered the aged Countess of Salisbury, Reginald Pole's mother, to be executed. Without being brought to trial, and for no offence save that she was known to be loyal to the pope's supremacy, for the Poles

took no part in public life but lived quietly in the country, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, condemned by act of attainder, was beheaded at the Tower. Fearless and pitiless was the king to old or young, rich or poor, who dared differ from his opinions, and oppose his desires.

To the end of his life he would have the faith of his subjects and the conduct of public worship ordered throughout the land by royal decree. Persons expressing heretical opinions on the Eucharist must be burnt if they would not conform, and burnt they were; chiefly was this so in London, where new continental ideas were discussed with avidity. The king also had Friar Forest, of the Franciscan Observants, once the faithful confessor of Queen Katherine, burnt as a heretic, with Bishop Latimer to preach at the burning. The heresy of Father John Forest was ingeniously contrived. It was heresy to maintain the papal supremacy since that doctrine, it was now reported, was not found in the New Testament.

Lutherans in Germany, Calvinists at Geneva, and Zwinglians at Zurich watched with interest the ebb and flow, as it seemed to them, of the new teaching in England. If the printing of a large Bible in English, by royal authority, encouraged Protestants, on the other hand, the king's Six Articles, enacted by parliament and convocation, would allow no departure from Transubstantiation, from communion in one kind at the Eucharist; no mitigation of the rule of the celibacy for priests, no release from the vows of chastity taken by monks and nuns now homeless; and strictly upheld the Mass and the sacrament of penance. Latimer resigned his bishopric on the passing of these Six Articles.[6]

Cranmer in his correspondence with the Protestants on the continent insisted that a great advance had been made by abolishing the pope's dominion and establishing the king as head of the church and breaking up the religious Orders.

[6]On the matter of clerical celibacy, enjoined by Henry's Six Articles it was Lawney, the Duke of Norfolk's chaplain, who sought to excuse his brethren, in the well-known words: "I cannot tell whether priests may have wives or no: but well I wot and am sure of it, for all your acts, that wives will have priests."

Time was on their side. Cranmer's own doctrine concerning the Eucharist was never clearly defined. Before Henry's death the archbishop was aware that he no longer believed in the Real Presence in the sacrament of the altar, but as late as 1537 he writes to his Lutheran friend, Joachim Vadiam in defence of Transubstantiation, resenting the Lutheran declamation that styled the doctrine an error:

"And this error most certainly, if error it be, has been handed down to us by the fathers themselves and men of apostolical character from the very beginning of the church. And what godly man could endure to hear this, much less to believe it? Not to mention in the meantime that our gracious Lord would never have left His beloved spouse in such lamentable blindness for so long a period?

"Wherefore, since this Catholic Faith which we hold respecting the real presence has been declared to the church from the beginning by such evident and manifest passages of Scripture and the same has also been subsequently commended to the ears of the faithful with so much clearness and diligence by the first ecclesiastical writers; do not, I pray, persist in wishing any longer to carp at or subvert a doctrine so well grounded and supported."

The archbishop, with Latimer and other priests brought up in the Catholic Faith, continued to say Mass according to the ritual of the Church long after they had ceased to believe in the sacrifice of the Mass and in the doctrine of Transubstantiation. They waited with expectancy for the death of Henry. For it had been settled that Edward, son of Jane Seymour, Henry's third wife, was the heir to the throne — Mary and then Elizabeth coming next in the succession — and the sympathies of the boy were known to be favourable to Protestants. The king's council would see to it that Cranmer enjoyed a free hand in matters ecclesiastical, while the new nobility could glut themselves still further with Church property. Cranmer had no interest in politics, no desire for riches. His mind was keenly set on radical reforms in the services of the church, on bringing the *Ecclesia Anglicana* into line with the Protestant churches on the continent and,

immediately the opportunity arose, on introducing an order of public worship in the vernacular. Cranmer had also worked out in his own mind, as the leading men of the continental reform had done, the doctrine and discipline to be imposed on the Church of England; "primitive" was the note, a return to the Church of the early Fathers.

So, as the last years of Henry's reign passed, more schemes for the plunder of the Church and the robbery of Church people were planned. The endowments of chantries for priests to say Mass and the property of the numerous guilds were by act of parliament confiscated to the crown. For money was still wanted by the king to pay for wars in France, wars that were over but not yet paid for. The Protestant party in the king's council found valid reasons for supporting this confiscation. Where the guilds had religious rules and purposes no less than social and industrial aims, where the members kept up the old ceremonies and were bound to pray for the souls of deceased brethren, here was the doctrine of purgatory peculiarly hateful to Cranmer, Latimer, and their allies, who held it sheer superstition to pray for the dead. And the priests attached to chantries must go, priests under the obligation to say Mass for the dead according to the wills and testaments of pious donors. That many of these priests were engaged in teaching the young, and were paid for the work of schoolmasters by the chantry endowments, did not hinder the work of disendowment. The newly enriched saw in this confiscation further prospects of gain.

Henry died before the act was enforced.

With hope and confidence, Cranmer and the earl of Hertford, Edward's uncle, all the nobles who stood to gain by fresh changes in religion, and all who sincerely held such changes to be divinely sanctioned and Protestant reform to be the fulfilment of Christ's gospel, awaited the new reign.

On the news of Edward's birth Bishop Latimer had written enthusiastically to Cromwell: "Here is no less joying and rejoicing in these parts for the birth of our prince, whom we have hungered for so long, than there was, I trow, *inter*

vicinos at the birth of St. John the Baptist." Latimer went on to say that God had "declared Himself God of England, or rather an English God."

With misgivings was the new reign awaited by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham; Edmund Bonner, bishop of London; and others who held to the Catholic Faith, while believing that faith compatible with disbelief in the pope's authority. These prelates had assisted Henry in the revolution that had separated England from communion with the Holy See. In the day of temptation they had taken the broad road, disdaining the steep and craggy way of the martyrs, heaping reproaches on the men slain for the cause of Catholic unity, the cause of Catholic truth.

Henry's bishops had broken with the Christendom that from the beginning had held the pope chief shepherd of all churches; Bonner, on being made bishop of London, had taken the oath rejecting the pope's supremacy. Now the day was upon them; the day of reckoning. Cranmer would teach them what it was to have an independent national church. Consenting to the sowing of the wind, the bishops, who held to the altar and the Mass, would reap the whirlwind.

Chapter IV

EDWARD VI AND THE CHANGE IN RELIGION

Summary

Position at Henry's death ✦ pillage and plunder ✦ Cranmer's new Prayer Book ✦ complaint of Hooper ✦ the hostile attitude of Gardiner and the Catholic bishops ✦ opposition silenced by imprisonment ✦ arrival of continental reformers ✦ popular revolt in the west ✦ the hanging of priests ✦ social unrest and indifference to changes in religion ✦ Bishop Hooper's visitation ✦ London crowded with foreign sectaries ✦ the plot to exclude Mary on Edward's death.

CHRONOLOGY

Europe

1551–52 Council of Trent: second sessions.

Great Britain

1547 Deprivation of Bishops Bonner and Tunstall; imprisonment of Gardiner. Peter Martyr appointed to professorship at Oxford. Confiscation of the property of the guilds.

1549 First Prayer Book of Edward VI made compulsory and sole use by act of parliament — the act of uniformity.

Rising in Devon and Cornwall against the changes in religion. Agrarian rising in Norfolk. Martin Bucer appointed to professorship of Cambridge.

1550 New ordinal authorised by act of parliament.

1552 Second Prayer Book of Edward VI made compulsory and sole use by act of parliament.

Chapter IV

EDWARD VI AND THE CHANGE IN RELIGION

John Hooper, once a Cistercian monk, but after the dissolution of his house and residence at Strasbourg and Zurich a confirmed believer in the new doctrines, described in a letter to Bullinger the state of things as he saw it in England just before Henry's death:

"As far as true religion is concerned idolatry is nowhere in greater vigour. Our king has destroyed the Pope but not popery; he has expelled all the monks and nuns and pulled down their monasteries, he has caused all their possessions to be transferred into his exchequer, and yet they are bound, even the frail female sex, by the king's command to perpetual chastity. England has at this time at least ten thousand nuns,[1] not one of whom is allowed to marry. The impious Mass, the most shameful celibacy of the clergy, the invocation of saints, auricular confession, superstitious abstinence from meats, and purgatory were never before held by the people in greater esteem than at the present moment."

The people of England still held to the old faith, so it appeared to Hooper, whose ideal in religious establishment was the congregational church at Zurich, with the beliefs of its founder, Zwingli. Nowhere in all Europe was the old faith stronger than in the north and west of England.

Six years were allowed to the Protestant minority under Edward VI to uproot the old religion and bring in the new. The thing was manifestly impossible. Cranmer, Protector Somerset (who took Hooper for his chaplain), Dudley, Earl of Warwick (soon to be Duke of Northumberland), could exclude from the king's council all who stood where Henry

[1]This figure is far in excess of contemporary records. But exaggeration is the note in Hooper's utterances.

stood, they could not change the hearts and minds of a whole nation in so short a time; nor could they persuade clergy and laity to refashion gladly the habits and customs of Catholic usage in favour of new forms of public worship and strange disconcerting ceremonies brought over from the continent.

But they did much, the men of the king's council, in those few brief years to change the outward appearance of the religious life of England. And in the work of innovation they were not hindered by foreign wars or considerations of foreign policy.

Cranmer had time to see the fruit of his literary labours gathered in the Book of Common Prayer, and the Mass displaced by the new communion service. Everywhere the Protestant leaders got rid of Latin, and gave the people a form of worship in the vernacular. Other royal councillors had time to plunder and pillage without let or hindrance; to annex church lands and endowments, and carry off portable property from parish churches wherever they could lay hands upon it.

The campaign of robbery and the looting of the churches did not endear the Book of Common Prayer to a people naturally averse from novelties in religion. Neither did it help matters to be told that the robbery and the pillage were done under royal warrant and authority of parliament, that Archbishop Cranmer had the law on his side when he stopped Mass being said or sung, and disallowed the familiar rites and ceremonies.

The monasteries had been sacked under Henry, now it was the turn of the parish churches and their guilds to be stripped. Almshouses for the aged, hospitals for the sick, the friendly societies and benefit clubs, confraternities and guilds were all declared the property of the crown by an act of parliament that enlarged the act of Henry's reign. "Superstition" is, of course, alleged again in the preamble to this act as the justification for the drastic spoiling of parish goods. The "superstitious uses" of prayers for the departed members of brotherhoods, of Masses for the dead, are to be stopped that the money may the better be spent on education and the

relief of the poor. So it was plausibly suggested in the preamble to the parliamentary enactment. (But the Privy Council's Acts give the real reason: the exchequer was empty and money had to be raised for the expenses of the crown.)

The wealth of the guilds and the treasure that had through the centuries been accumulated in the parish churches were seized not only by officials of the crown but by private persons. In the scramble for loot, the people in the parishes and the guildsmen were sacrificed by the powerful and unscrupulous who followed the way of the king's ministers — the real rulers, since Edward was but a boy and a weakling at that.

The guilds and parishes owned lands and houses; they possessed valuable cups and goblets of gold and silver. The parish churches also had chalices of gold and silver, candlesticks, bells, sacred images, banners, and vestments of rich material. Gifts in thanksgiving for the mercies of God, for prayers answered at the intercession of saints; presents to Our Lady, Queen of Heaven. "Superstition" attached itself to such offerings. It was "superstition" to thank God for answering the prayers of saints, sheer "superstition" to show gratitude for favours alleged to have been received from Christ's Mother, and from saints long dead. Not all the beautiful specimens of goldsmith's and silversmith's craft owned by parish guilds and brotherhoods were votive offerings, though many were. A pride in the parish church, a love that impelled the increase of its possessions, a joy in the sense of common ownership — all these things are noted in the later Middle Ages in England. The parish church was the centre of village life; in the round of the Christian year, with the varying church services and ceremonies, the drudgery of agricultural life and the hardships of that life were compensated.

Within the parish church could be seen and shown the art and workmanship of village carpenter and stonemason, embroideries and fine needlework wrought in many a manor house to the glory of God. The parish church in a very real sense belonged to the parishioners, though the priest held the freehold. In parishes where the lord of the manor stood in

the old paths of religion it was not so easy for the king's officers to fetch away the church valuables. But in thousands of parishes these officers swooped down and carried off what they would; lesser men, in unauthorised fashion, helping themselves with impunity. Piety concealed many a valuable piece of church plate from the despoilers, preserved from destruction many costly vestments of gold and silver cloth. It was in the name of the king and the "new religion" these things were done; so the country people were told, as they watched, indignant and sorrowful, the stripping bare of their churches, the ransacking of the parochial treasure chests. It did not endear the Protestant reform to the English people, this looting of their churches, though it grappled to the reform the newly enriched.

In London it was different. In London there was a rapidly increasing populace with a mind ripe for destruction, ready to pull down church as well as image. Yet even in London the Duke of Somerset, Protector Somerset, and esteemed the friend of the poor, was thought to be going a little too far when he proposed to pull down Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's Church at Westminster for his new house on the bank of the Thames.

As it was, Somerset pulled down two churches, the cloisters of St. Paul's, and three bishops' houses for his own mansion.

Plunder and pillage proceeded apace while Cranmer got ready his new service books, and the archbishop aided the plunderers by enacting the prohibition of all the traditional ceremonial that required ornaments and things beautiful. Royal visitors, royal injunctions, royal orders from the king's council, royal proclamations swept statues and images out of the churches, forbad the blessing of candles on Candlemas day, the taking of ashes on Ash Wednesday, the receiving and bearing of Palms on Palm Sunday. Decrees were also passed by parliament for the giving of Holy Communion in both kinds to the laity, for an "order of communion" drawn up in English to be used when Mass was celebrated, and for a form of general confession in place of private confession.

Parliament in those early years of Protestant ascendancy was also required to pass a bill allowing the marriage of priests.

In 1549 the Act of Uniformity ordered that a Prayer Book in English, the first Prayer Book of Edward VI as it is called, should supersede the old service books. An additional act ordered the destruction of all missals.

But this first Prayer Book, though Cranmer described it as "a very godly order . . . agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive church," fell very far short of the standards of reform set up by the Protestant churches of Zurich and Geneva. Neither did it please the more moderate men of the Strasbourg congregation. It retained too much of the Mass, authorised still too many ceremonies, and could in fact, it was contended, be used by Catholics. So Stephen Gardiner endeavoured to prove in his struggle to maintain a Catholic interpretation of the first Prayer Book.[2] A "crafty and sophistical cavillation," it was called, this attempt of Gardiner to show that Cranmer in his first Book of Common Prayer was upholding the Mass.

The parish priests up and down the land and the cathedral clergy did their best to treat the communion as the Mass, and to minimise the change of service. The altar might be transformed into a table by parliamentary decree; Mass vestments were still enjoined and two candles were ordered to be lighted at the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

To John Hooper, that indefatigable advocate of the doctrine and discipline of the Zwinglian congregation, it was a wretched compromise, and he wrote bitterly to Bullinger (now Zwingli's successor) of the position: "the public celebration is very far from the order and institution of our Lord. Although it is administered in both kinds, yet in some places the supper is celebrated three times a day. Where they used heretofore to celebrate in the morning the Mass of the Apostles, they now have the communion of the apostles; where they had the Mass of the Blessed Virgin they now have the communion of the virgin; where they had the principal or

[2]Consult *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*: Gasquet and Bishop, New Edition, 1929.

High Mass they now have, as they call it, the high communion. They still retain their vestments and the candles before the altars; in the churches they always chant the hours and other hymns relating to the Lord's Supper, but in our own language. And that popery may not be lost, the mass priests, although they are compelled to discontinue the use of the Latin language, yet most carefully observe the same tone and manner of chanting to which they were heretofore accustomed in the papacy. God knows to what perils and anxieties we are exposed by reason of men of this kind."

While Hooper, himself in conflict with Cranmer and the new bishops who held to the doctrine of a spiritual presence in the Eucharist, deplored the affection of the parish priests for the old religion and the unwillingness to give up the Mass and abandon the outward signs of Catholic worship, he was no less dismayed by the activities of heretics now pouring into England from the continent; heretics who despised the new order as heartily as Hooper hated the old. The troubles foreseen by Sir Thomas More were visible. Hooper wrote:

"Anabaptists flock to the place; their heresies more and more detested by the people. How dangerously our England is afflicted by heresies of this kind God only knows. . . . There are some who deny that man is endued with a soul different from that of a beast which is subject to decay. Alas! not only are those heresies reviving among us which were formerly dead and buried but new ones are springing up every day. There are such libertines and wretches who are daring enough to deny that Christ is the Messiah and Saviour of the world, but also to call that blessed Seed a mischievous fellow and deceiver of the world. On the other hand, a great portion of the kingdom so adheres to the popish faction as altogether to set at naught God and the lawful authority of the magistrates; so that I am greatly afraid of a rebellion and civil discord."

The rebellion and civil discord anticipated by Hooper came rapidly. Before the unrest broke into open revolt Cranmer was busy over the revision of his Prayer Book, having

summoned to his help certain of his continental correspondents, notably Martin Bucer of Strasbourg, and the two Italians, Vermigli, better known as Peter Martyr, the ex-Augustinian, and Bernardin Ochino, the ex-Capuchin friar.

Cranmer, now that the great reforming council of the Catholic Church had at last been assembled at Trent, was anxious for the unity of the Protestant churches; a comprehensive federation; inter-communion between all who held the pope anti-christ, the Mass idolatry, and the Bible the rule of faith. What he desired was a combination of all Protestant churches that were at the same time strictly orthodox concerning the Holy Trinity and the divinity of Christ. Cranmer was prepared for wide divergence of opinion on the Eucharist, provided always there was no exclusive dogma. His contemporaries express their uncertainty as to what Cranmer held to be of faith in the Eucharist. Some regarded him as a Zwinglian, others thought he favoured the Lutheran doctrine. All that can be said with truth is that Cranmer held, as Bucer and Ridley did, that in receiving the bread and wine at the Lord's Supper the godly communicant did most certainly receive spiritually the body and blood of Christ. But Transubstantiation or any change in the elements at Communion Cranmer would not endure.

The second Prayer Book removed all ambiguity as far as Transubstantiation was concerned, while it left open to all good Protestants on the continent the door of inter-communion with the reformed church of England. Bucer, who came under the influence of Luther, left the Dominican Order and married — as every priest who embraced the reform was expected to do — when he was thirty. His aim always was to reconcile the conflicting creeds of his fellow-Protestants. But he strove unsuccessfully, for there was no reconciling the reformed churches of Geneva and Zurich with the "evangelical" church of Germany. There was more scope in England than at Strasbourg for Bucer's activities, and on Cranmer's invitation Bucer arrived in England, to lecture in divinity from a professor's chair at Cambridge, while Peter Martyr was given a similar professorship at Oxford.

The first Edwardian Prayer Book was overhauled by Bucer and Peter Martyr at Cranmer's special request, and their corrections were well received. Bucer, in especial, left his mark on the second Prayer Book — the Anglican Book of Common Prayer that is still substantially the same as at its compilation. With zest and with great zeal did the ex-Dominican friar purge the Church of England service of ancient forms, and yet prevent the Zwinglians and Calvinists from making the book their own.

Bucer had been in controversy with Gardiner in Henry's reign over the question of authority. Bucer found that Gardiner was responsible for putting the king in the pope's place and called it "a trick of the devil to replace a worn-out pope by a new one." Gardiner, insisting on absolute obedience to the sovereign, replied with a *tu quoque:* "You have not abolished the authority of Rome throughout the world, but you have appropriated it to yourselves and transferred it to Wittenberg."

Both charges had their grain of truth. The crown in England was the supreme head of the church. Continental Protestants would admit no authority higher than their self-appointed rulers; and these in each local church were sure of divine and infallible guidance. It was Gardiner's willingness to make the best of Cranmer's first Prayer Book, and his contention that the book would bear a Catholic interpretation, that urged Bucer to the task of revision. He saw, as Cranmer did, that a service book acceptable to Catholics would never be agreeable to the men and women who had left the Catholic Church. John Knox, lately returned from Geneva, with Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, John à Laske, an ex-Catholic Pole and the minister of the Stranger's Church in London, all gave their advice on the revision of the Prayer Book, while Calvin, Bullinger, and Melanchthon were consulted as to omissions and additions. Common consent of these apostles of the new religion directed the total abolition of the Mass and the framing of a service of Holy Communion that could not be celebrated in a manner that resembled the Mass nor be mistaken for the Mass. To prevent further clinging to

faith in the sacrifice of the altar, Ridley, now bishop of London in room of Edmund Bonner, whom the council deprived, had the altar in St. Paul's Cathedral pulled down and a table set up lengthways in its place. He similarly ordered throughout the diocese "honest tables" to be erected and the altars to be taken away.

In the new book the communion was no longer "commonly called the Mass." Every allusion to the sacrifice for living and dead was cut out, and the canon of the Mass was broken up beyond any piecing together. The accustomed vestments were forbidden, and a surplice only might be worn by the officiating minister. All prayers for the dead, all invocation of saints, all prayers to Our Lady were forbidden. Fierce arguments raged among the Prayer Book revisers as to the posture of faithful Christians at the receiving of the Lord's Supper. Knox, Hooper, and the Zwinglians protested against the communicant kneeling, and demanded to have the bread and wine brought round to people seated at a table. Cranmer, Bucer, and the moderate school would not give way, and in the end Knox could do no more than get a rubric inserted in the communion service: "It is hereby declared that thereby [i.e., kneeling] no adoration is intended or ought to be done either unto the sacramental bread and wine thereby bodily received or unto any real and essential presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood."[3]

Hooper, only persuaded to become a bishop under pressure from the king's council, resolutely stood out against wearing a special garment to denote episcopal office. Knox, whom Northumberland greatly favoured, sternly refused the bishopric of Rochester because the new Church of England would not give up the practice of kneeling at the Lord's Supper.

No less important than the new communion service in the progress of reform was the new ordination service put forth for exclusive use by act of parliament. Drawn up by Cranmer

[3]This "black rubric," as it is called, has been retained in the Church of England communion service in the Book of Common Prayer. The words "real and essential presence" were altered to "corporal presence" at the revision of 1662.

and Ridley, it was in the main, this new ordinal, an enlargement of Bucer's model at Strasbourg. Significant and deliberate were the changes exhibited. The presentation of chalice and paten by the bishop to the ordained was a vital feature in the old ordering of priests. It was the sign that the priest was ordained to offer the sacrifice of the Mass. Catholics everywhere in the sixteenth century took this presentation of chalice and paten to be the characteristic act at the ordination to the priesthood. Because of this common and universal belief of the time, Cranmer and his colleagues — all clergy brought up in the Catholic Faith — were determined to prevent any mistake or misunderstanding as to the ministry of the Church of England. Therefore, by omitting from the ordination service the presentation of chalice and paten it was made impossible for critics to allege that the new ordinal implied the ordination of Mass priests. And, no priest, no Mass. It followed that, however difficult it was to check the old priests ordained in Henry's reign, the clergy ordained under the new ordinal could not say Mass. The new priests of the reformed Church of England were at their ordination carefully set apart "to minister the doctrine and sacraments and the discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded and as this church and realm hath received the same."[4]

Similarly, in the order for the consecration of bishops in the new ordinal all the old ritual of conferring mitre and crozier, ring and pectoral cross was omitted.

With the compiling of forty-two articles of religion and the publication of a book of homilies as the doctrinal basis of the reformed church, Cranmer's work was finished. He could survey it and approve. A new order of divine service consisting of morning and evening prayer compiled from the breviary offices of matins, lauds and prime, vespers and compline, and put into English of a singular beauty in phrase and diction; a new communion service in place of the Mass;

[4]The clergy ordained according to the Edwardian form were not accepted by Cardinal Pole in the next reign as validly ordained to the Catholic priesthood. And as the Edwardian ordinal has remained the ordinal of the Church of England, Rome has never admitted that Anglican clergymen are by their ordination Catholic priests.

a new ordinal, new articles of religion — all this was completed before Edward died.

It had not been done without opposition.

The king's council (and this meant Protector Somerset, until he fell from power and was beheaded; Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, Sir William Paget, the secretary, and Archbishop Cranmer) had, with, and sometimes without, the sanction of compliant parliament and convocation, pillaged the parish churches, confiscated the savings of guilds and benefit societies, disendowed the chantries, imposed on a Catholic people a new form of divine service, abolished the Mass, and forbidden the old accustomed ceremonies. But there had been resistance.

Gardiner, Tunstall, Bonner, Heath, Thirlby — all Henry's bishops — found their loyalty to the royal supremacy strained at the outset. They were obliged to take out fresh licenses for the exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction at the beginning of Edward's reign and they did so with reluctance and acute discomfort. Gardiner argued that the royal supremacy was personal; that the ecclesiastical supremacy pertained to the sovereign; that the king, and the king alone, was the head of the church, and that neither the protector nor the king's council could enjoy that headship while the king was a minor. Gardiner was, of course, overruled at once. His theory was untenable; it left the church without a supreme governor. Authority over the church must not lapse because the king was not yet of age. The protector and the king's council stood in place of the sovereign and had the power of a sovereign. The difficulty which Gardiner had to face — and a like difficulty confronted Cranmer in the next reign — was to reconcile the royal supremacy with obedience to conscience. When the royal supremacy went counter to convictions of the nature of true religion, when it intruded on conscience notions that were utterly irreconcilable, a grave problem was set.

Gardiner and Bonner held stoutly to the headship of Henry because his theology coincided with their own. Under that headship no heresy was tolerated and the Mass and the

doctrine of Transubstantiation were safe. They were confounded when the headship of Edward's council brought in the very heresies Henry hated, overthrew the Mass and overturned the altars, and gave a free reign to the doctors of continental Protestantism.

Both Gardiner and Cranmer vigourously maintained the supremacy of the crown and denied the supremacy of the pope; nor is there any reason to question their self-conviction. Only when this supremacy of the crown did violence to vital theological convictions and threatened to stifle conscience was it rejected. Gardiner and Henry's Catholic bishops were driven back to the papal supremacy. Cranmer at the last could find no authority higher than the teachings of his own heart.

Gardiner put up a fight against the ecclesiastical policy of the king's council and with pen and voice contested the Protestant advance. He withstood, as Bonner did, the changes in religion so swiftly and so violently enforced. Gardiner and Bonner were therefore imprisoned, deprived of their bishoprics, and kept in prison. Nicholas Heath, bishop of Worcester, was also imprisoned and deprived on his refusal to sign the decree for the new ordinal. Thirlby, the first and last bishop of Henry's new diocese of Westminster, voted against the changes and then complied with the law and was translated to Norwich. George Day, of Chichester, another of Henry's bishops, was deprived. Tunstall, now an old man of seventy, having voted against the act of uniformity that ordered the new Prayer Book, was prepared to carry out the law. This did not save him from being sent to the Tower at Northumberland's order, on a trumped-up charge of treason, nor from sentence of deprivation of his see. Durham was one of the most powerful, one of the wealthiest of the English bishoprics, and Northumberland was determined to have it.

Imprisoned and deprived, Henry's bishops could offer no further opposition.

Catholic nobles, glutted with the spoils of monastery and convent, intimidated by the terror under Henry and without enthusiasm for their religion, made no effective stand in par-

liament. The House of Commons was filled with the supporters of Somerset and Northumberland.

The common people took up arms in defence of their faith. In the west of England landowners, peasants, and craftsmen rose as they did in the north at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and resisted to the death the enforcement of Cranmer's new Prayer Book.

In Oxfordshire, too, militant opposition was roused against the revolutionary changes in religion; and when that opposition was crushed the bodies of priests were seen swinging on the gibbets erected over all that countryside.

The rising in Devon and Cornwall, the western rebellion, was a far larger revolt. For a while it seriously threatened the ascendancy of the Protestants of the king's council. The articles of the rebels reveal a profound attachment to the old religion, but no desire for a return to the papal obedience. So far from raising objections to the royal supremacy, one of the items in the western Charter expressly demands a return to the Laws of Henry VIII and to his Six Articles. It is the restoration of the Mass, in Latin, as before, and without communicants which the rebels demand; and also the reservation of the sacrament over the high altar, "there to be worshipped as it was wont to be"; the giving of holy bread[5] and holy water every Sunday; palms and ashes at the accustomed time; the setting up again of images in every church, "and all other ancient old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother the church." The new service was rejected because it was "but like a Christmas game, and we will have our old service of matins, Mass, evensong and procession [i.e., Litanies] in Latin as it was before. . . ." Certain of the Cornishmen, it was alleged, understood no English. Souls in purgatory were to be prayed for by name, and Cardinal Pole, being of royal blood, should be placed on the king's council. A restoration of abbey lands, so that two houses of religion should be established in every county, was also included in the list of grievances to be amended.

[5]The custom of giving blessed bread to the faithful was never revived in England. It existed in certain parishes in France till our own times.

A number of clergy were prominent among the men of Devon and Cornwall at the rising in 1549, and they were parish priests. Bonner, called upon by the council to preach at Paul's Cross against the rebels, denounced the sin of rebellion without committing himself to a condemnation of the aims of the rebels. When the rising was over, Cranmer replied to the articles, and poured contempt on the ignorance that prompted such requests. For three months these men of the west were in arms for the old faith, and the city of Exeter was besieged. In the end they were defeated by the trained soldiers — foreign mercenaries for the most part — commanded by Lord Russell.

Hardly was this western rising conquered, in that summer of 1549, than an even graver rebellion took place in Norfolk under Robert Kett, a master tanner and purchaser of abbey lands. The remarkable thing about Kett's rebellion, which was only suppressed by German mercenaries commanded by Northumberland, is the lack of all interest in the changes of religion.[6] Not a word in the articles of the Norfolk rebels, or in Kett's speeches, suggests the least tenderness for the Mass or the old ceremonies, or shows concern at the stripping of the parish churches. If anything, the sympathies of the rebels appear to have been rather with the innovators, and a chaplain was retained at Kett's camp outside Norwich to say prayers, not to say Mass. No doubt impatience was shown when Matthew Parker came out from Cambridge and preached in the camp, but objection was taken to the preachers' doctrine of non-resistance to the crown, not to his exposition of Protestant teaching.

In truth, what we call the social question pressed so sharply on the English people in the reign of Edward VI, and the common needs and necessities of life were so ill supplied, that many were far more anxious to satisfy these needs than to discuss changes in religion. Minorities in power strove for the Protestant reform throughout the period; and minorities were actively interested in the

[6] *Robert Kett and the Norfolk Rising*, J. Clayton, London, 1912, may be consulted for a full account of the causes of the rising and the demands of the rebels.

resistance to the reform. The majority consented to what was done; acquiesced willingly or unwillingly in every change. Then, as now, an organized minority had its way over a passive majority. The fact is the country people, and England was an agricultural country, were in horrible straits in the sixteenth century. Enclosures of land were taking place; enclosure that turned arable land into pasturage and made thousands homeless. This disturbance in rural life proceeded and brought insecurity and unrest. With land being constantly bought and sold, estates divided up, new landlords everywhere, people, certainly in the eastern counties, had nothing to say concerning the new Prayer Book. In the time of a great labour dispute we do not look for strong expressions of opinion on controversial points of divinity by workmen on strike or locked out.

The story of the Norfolk Rising provides very definite evidence that in 1549 a considerable number of people within a very wide area, embittered by injustice, felt too acutely the miseries and hardships of life to care what happened to the Church. Conscious of present wrongs they gave no attention to ecclesiastical decrees. Neither regret at the loss of Mass and Catholic observances nor hope for their recovery is expressed. Signs of pleasure at the church services instituted by Cranmer there are none. The people of East Anglia were simply indifferent. In many lands this same experience has been repeated — a majority, brought up in the Catholic Faith, allowing a minority to effect without serious obstruction a religious revolution and to overthrow the established church.

They were a minority, then, the men who carried out the policy of Cranmer and the royal council, and the time was short. But the new bishops and royal functionaries worked hard in the cause of the Protestant reform. Without winning the population to the Book of Common Prayer or establishing a preference for the new Communion service to the disparagement of the Mass, they nevertheless reduced to a sullen silence the clergy who clung to the old religion and quickened the demoralisation of the laity.

Ridley was obtruded into Bonner's bishopric of London, which gave every encouragement to the Protestants and sectaries in the city. Hooper, too, his Zwinglian scruples at last laid to rest and installed as bishop of Gloucester, displayed the fullest energy in the campaign against the priesthood, the altar, and the Mass. In particular he inveighed against the ignorance of the clergy.

Much comment has been passed on the record of Hooper's visitation of the clergy in his diocese of Gloucester in 1551. According to this visitation report Hooper found that one hundred and seventy-one of his clergy could not repeat the Ten Commandments in English, ten could not say the Lord's Prayer, twenty-seven could not tell who its author was, and thirty could not tell where it was to be found. This is accepted, and by modern scholars of repute,[7] as historical evidence of the shameful ignorance of the clergy. It is offered as a fair account of the general want of learning at the time of the Reformation in the Catholic priesthood of England. In reality, while it is evidence of Hooper's bitter contempt of the clergy he was set to rule, and of the hatred he never concealed of the Mass and the priests who said Mass, it is no evidence at all of grave clerical ignorance, as the Protestant historians allege. The clergy had no reason for knowing the Ten Commandments in English; they would know them in Latin of course, and knowing them in Latin would be puzzled to recite them in unfamiliar English. The intense devotion to the Old Testament was conspicuous among all schools of Protestants; the Old Testament was read and studied far more than the New Testament by the Protestants of Geneva and Zurich and their English disciples. It was this that gave Puritanism its Hebrew quality. When the Mass was forbidden and the Catholic ceremonies proscribed, the Ten Commandments were set up in the churches for the faithful to contemplate. Were it possible to-day for Catholic clergy to be examined by a Protestant bishop, an ex-monk who had married and abandoned the Catholic Church, who hated the Mass, and was anxious to discredit

[7]Notably by Professor A. F. Pollard.

and expose all who remained faithful, it might well happen that many priests — apart from those engaged in Biblical studies, professors and students — would be slow to recite the Ten Commandments in the vernacular. Quite possibly, too, there are regular clergy of the contemplative orders who to-day could not easily say the Lord's Prayer in their native tongue, so accustomed are they to its use in Latin. But these would not be parish priests. It proves nothing, this record of Hooper's, concerning the ignorance of the clergy. Many a scholar, many a priest of strong faith and fervent charity, would be puzzled in any land and in any age to say, offhand, where the Lord's Prayer is to be found, i.e., give the chapter and verse in the New Testament. Many a devout and yet simple-minded clerk of good knowledge of the Gospel, and not deficient in theology, would be puzzled by the sudden enquiry: "Who is the author of the Lord's Prayer?" The answer seems so obvious that hesitation creeps in. There must be a catch in the question somewhere. Who but Christ, the Lord, *could* be its author? And yet why does the bishop ask the question? He must expect another answer. There is no wish to offend the bishop and therefore the answer is: "We do not know." Besides, Hooper was feared by his clergy as an apostate monk who denied the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar. Such a prelate would naturally be suspect.

When an examiner desires to find ignorance he can always, if he be a person of authority, succeed in his quest. Bishop Hooper's indictment is an *ex parte* statement. It proves no more the general ignorance of the clergy in Edward VI's reign than the testimony of Cromwell's visitors proves the general wickedness of monks and nuns in the reign of Henry. Ignorant they were without doubt, by the standards of Zurich and Geneva, the parish priests in Edward's reign, not glibly interlarding their talk with Old Testament quotations. Ignorance is alleged by the world in every age and in every land against the clergy. Learning and scholarship, of course, are not the gifts most highly prized by zealous parish priests. But there is nothing to suggest that the clergy

generally were the ignoramuses that Bishop Hooper, in his violent reaction against the religion in which he had grown up, made them out to be. Hooper himself was neither theologian, nor humanist. There is no evidence of his scholarship.

Harried by the new bishops, hanged by the government when they showed a not unnatural sympathy with men in rebellion for the faith of their fathers, the clergy for the most part complied with the law, and waited for the evil days to pass, uncertain and unknowing what the future might bring. Some married, following the example of Cranmer and the new bishops, who had resolutely broken the vows of chastity taken at ordination. The priests of the new learning did not become Protestants in order to have wives. They took wives after they had solemnly repudiated their priesthood.

In six years Cranmer and the king's council effected revolutionary changes in the externals of public worship. They could not uproot the religion that Augustine had brought from Rome to England nearly a thousand years before. But Cranmer and the king's council could do immense damage to morals by abrogating canon law and leaving in doubt and obscurity the conditions of marriage, so that perplexity prevailed concerning degrees of affinity and consanguinity, and concerning prohibitions of marriage between relatives; they could mock at Lenten fasting as "superstitious," and yet leave it an open question so that each man could please himself; they could not destroy in six years the morality that becomes a habit and a tradition in Catholic lands. But the statute book of Edward's reign discloses notorious degradation in morals.

The work of demoralisation was assisted in London and in Bristol by the heretics and sectaries who continued to swarm over from the continent. Heresy was as greatly abhorred in the sixteenth century as murder is to-day. And death by fire was approved as the just penalty for heresy by Catholic and Protestant alike; as capital punishment is generally approved to-day as the just sentence on a convicted

murderer. So, under Calvin's authority, was Servetus burnt at Geneva for denial of the Holy Trinity.[8] Similarly, under Cranmer's authority, Joan Bocher and also a Dutch Anabaptist, van Parris, were burnt for denying the truth of the Incarnation of the Son of God. Nor was there any reproach from Zwinglians or Calvinists at these executions. "Arians, Marcionists, Libertines, Donatists and similar monsters" are named in a letter by the Dutch Zwinglian Micronius to Bullinger as arriving in London in 1550, and the letter declares it "a matter of the first importance that the word of God should be preached here in German for the averting of the heresies which are introduced by our countrymen."

Anabaptists and Arians were "monsters" on whom death must be inflicted if civilisation was to stand. And on their side the Anabaptists had shown at Munster the treatment they measured out to opponents. If once the Anabaptists got the upper hand there would be short shrift for Catholics or Protestants. The Anabaptists ranged from communists desiring in gentleness and fraternity to have all things in common, to sterner revolutionaries who would slay and destroy to get the accomplishment of their ends. The Anabaptists were feared as the enemies of society in every European land.

Others of these strange sectaries, that took refuge in London toward the end of Edward's reign, held views on morals utterly subversive of Christian ethics. They were antinomian, above and beyond the law; sinless themselves, however much they sinned, because they were redeemed by Christ.

They differed among themselves, these heretics, but they were all fiercely intolerant of every belief that was not their own. They were as intolerant as Hooper and his Zwinglians, as intolerant as John Knox and his Calvinists. Heretics and continental Protestants did agree in one thing, and in one thing only; the pope was anti-Christ, and "popery" was of

[8]The burning of Servetus was approved by Melanchthon, Peter Martyr, Besa, Bullinger, and other continental Protestant leaders.

the devil. "Popery" included the Mass, which was idolatry. Therefore there could be no toleration for papists and every precaution must be taken to prevent Mass being said.

It was a grave position for Cranmer when Edward, the boy-king, lay a-dying. London swarmed with heretics, and Mary, a Catholic, was the heir to the throne by decision of Henry's parliament. Warwick, Duke of Northumberland, recognising the gravity of the situation for himself, and having no mind to surrender the power which he had assumed, saw the possibilities of remaining in continuance of power, in fact becoming the power behind the throne, by the marriage of his son to Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Mary, sister of Henry VIII. Parliament had decreed by statute in Henry's reign that the crown should pass to Mary on Edward's decease and then to Elizabeth. Parliament under pressure might pass a fresh statute, but no parliament, as Northumberland knew, would vote the crown to Lady Jane Grey. Mary, queen of Scots, granddaughter of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII, stood nearer in the succession. Northumberland therefore devised a plot for excluding the Princess Mary. The crown must be given to Lady Jane by decree of king and council, without consulting parliament. Northumberland was forcible enough to persuade Edward that unless he assigned the crown to Lady Jane it would pass to Mary, and that would mean the bringing back of "popery" and the undoing of all that had been done in the cause of the Reformation. Edward having consented to the plot, judges and lawyers drew the "device." Cranmer and Ridley were among the councillors who signed the document that gave the crown to Northumberland's daughter-in-law and excluded Mary. Before Edward was dead Ridley, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, had denounced both Mary and Elizabeth as "bastards," and it was noticed that Hodgkin, the ex-Dominican provincial and now suffragan bishop of Bedford, had omitted to pray for these ladies in the public service at St. Paul's.

Northumberland's conspiracy failed. He had no following in the country; no man, in fact, was more detested, and in

the House of Lords he had offended men as Protestant as he professed to be. A quite baseless rumour that Edward had been poisoned became current in London, and when rumour went on to make Northumberland the poisoner, it finished, as far as the city was concerned, any hope of sympathy for Lady Jane. But Hooper believed in Northumberland. Hooper at first was Somerset's chaplain, and on Somerset's fall he attached himself to Northumberland and wrote to Bullinger of his new patron (then busier than ever at plundering the church and imposing his tyranny on the nation) as "that most faithful and intrepid soldier of Christ, the earl of Warwick." Under Hooper's influence the Zwinglians came to regard Northumberland as the instrument for cleansing the new Church of England of all Lutheran defilements. They overrated their own numbers, this Zwinglian sect, as Hooper overrated Northumberland's Christian principles. But Hooper was no judge of character and he was without patience or charity for people who were not precisely of his Zurich opinions, so much so that it is impossible to take as trustworthy the records of his episcopal visitations. Hooper was as blind to the piety and goodness of priests who held to the old faith — many of them ill-equipped, no doubt, for a parade of learning and lacking the ready answer — as he was blind to the character of Northumberland.

Cranmer, Ridley, Hooper, all backed the losing side when they followed Northumberland. It was the losing side, and it was the wrong side; wrong in law, wrong in justice, wrong in equity. These leaders of the reform were prepared to go any lengths; to do violence to law, to trample on the popular will, to override parliamentary statutes, to break the promises they had sworn to keep, provided they could prevent the restoration of the old religion under a Catholic sovereign.

The conspiracy failed. The methods of the conspirators never promised success. The Protestant policy of Edward's reign had embittered multitudes. It had not presented the new religion in a favourable light. A few had gained, no

doubt, in the riot of loot and plunder; the many had certainly lost. Northumberland in power had inflicted England with unendurable misery, and Cranmer, pursuing his work of establishing the new religion, exaggerated the number of its adherents. Cranmer had long given up the idea of church reform from within. What the archbishop had in his mind was a return to what he supposed to be the faith and practice of the "primitive church." A similar ideal was before all the Protestant reformers. Only they were not in agreement as to what constituted that faith and practice. It was not an ideal that Mary Tudor, daughter of Katherine of Aragon, could appreciate.

Chapter V

THE RESTORATION UNDER MARY TUDOR

Summary

The queen's difficulties ✦ her steady purpose, the restoration of the Catholic Faith and the return to the Catholic unity ✦ her councillors ✦ dependence on the Emperor ✦ policy of tolerance frustrated by the wild men in London, and by armed risings ✦ confusion among the clergy ✦ Cranmer's attitude ✦ repeal of Edwardian legislation ✦ marriage with Philip ✦ arrival of Cardinal Pole ✦ repeal of anti-papal legislation ✦ reconciliation with Rome ✦ heresy laws ✦ burnings at Smithfield and elsewhere ✦ opposition of Philip ✦ burnings enjoined by the council ✦ hostility of Pope Paul IV to Mary and Pole ✦ position at death of Mary.

CHRONOLOGY

Europe

1555 Peace of Augsburg on the principle *cujus regio, ejus religio* — religion of the sovereign to be the religion of his subjects.
Servetus burnt by Calvin at Geneva.

1556 *Treatise on Prayer and Meditation,* by St. Peter of Alcantara.

Great Britain

1554–55 Restoration of the Mass and papal supremacy in England.
Cardinal Pole papal legate.

1555 Ridley and Latimer burnt at Oxford.

1556 Cranmer burnt at Oxford.

Chapter V

THE RESTORATION UNDER MARY TUDOR

The daughter of Katherine of Aragon was queen of England by decree of parliament and by general consent. But from the first her position was assailed; her difficulties were real and they persisted. For the one steady purpose that held Mary Tudor throughout the short five years of her reign, a purpose from which she could not be turned, was the restoration of the Catholic Faith in England and the return of the English people to the Catholic unity. It was a purpose hateful to a minority, no less resolutely set on the establishment of new forms of faith. Zealously Mary held to her purpose, and was sustained by it. Neither the implacable opposition of Protestants, of all denominations, nor the doubtful attitude of the new landlords of abbey lands could persuade Mary Tudor that anything was of such urgent importance as the return to the Faith.

The difficulties were formidable. The strength of Mary Tudor lay in her very single-mindedness. She had the courage of her convictions. But her life had been secluded; she was without experience of public affairs and without friends to call to her council; and the privy council was still the central instrument of government. For advice the queen must needs look to her cousin, the Emperor Charles V.

This involved consideration of foreign politics. It involved the interests of the king of France; and his ambassador, intriguing against the emperor's plans, fostered treason and sedition to keep England out of alliance with Spain. The emperor urged Mary to marry Philip, soon to become king of Spain, and Mary welcomed the marriage as a support. But Henry of France, personally favourable to the restoration of the Faith in England, encouraged every conspiracy

for the defeat of the Spanish marriage and the overthrow of Mary's religious policy.

In the meantime, where could the queen look for councillors at home?

Sir William Paget, a typical civil servant, could be trusted. But while prepared to act in the spirit of later English statesmen, holding it as a reasonable axiom that "the king's government must be carried on," he was quite without preference for the queen's religion and unable to appreciate the queen's devotion to the old Faith and her zeal for the papal supremacy. Paget served the crown loyally, more concerned for law and order than for faith or unfaith. As a member of the council of Edward VI, he was persuaded to join Lady Jane Grey's council; and then, being a practical politician, saw the futility of this proceeding and supported Mary. Paget went on the embassy to bring Pole to England, and after Mary's death readily conformed to the new arrangements in religion under Elizabeth.

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whom Mary made her chancellor, was a steadfast but hardly congenial ally in the work of restoration. For Gardiner had been Henry's servant, active in the business of declaring Mary illegitimate, stalwart in getting rid of papal supremacy and making Henry head of the Church in England. Bonner, too, reinstated in his see of London, had never hitherto acknowledged the pope, while Tunstall, of Durham, now an old man, although disliking the Protestant teaching, had been frankly anti-papal. Gardiner and Tunstall were, in fact, champions of the royal supremacy as Cranmer was.

Mary herself was embarrassed by the title of head of the Church from which she must be released from parliament before the country could be reconciled to the headship of the pope.

The position bristled with difficulties.

London contained all the elements of disorder in a number of persons utterly without toleration for the religious practices of Catholics. Men and women of the wilder forms of continental heresy, had swarmed over from the continent in

the reign of Edward VI and their presence was a scandal to the graver — but not more tolerant — preachers of the doctrine of Zurich and Geneva. There, too, although not found outside London and certain towns in the eastern counties, were the anarchist sectaries — "Anabaptists, Arians, Marcionists, Davigeorgians."[1] Their numbers were never large, but they made up for numerical scantiness by an intensity of hate in their campaign of outrage against the Mass and the clergy who offered Mass. When, later, Oliver Goldsmith spoke of men and women being put to death for denying Transubstantiation, Dr. Johnson corrected him: "No, sir, they were not put to death for denying that bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ, but for insulting those that did believe it."

The outrages did not cease, though Mary issued proclamations enjoining peace and mutual forbearance, and requiring complete toleration for the services of the new religion. The violent language of Protestant preachers rather stimulated disorder than encouraged peace. Ridley, who had not only signed the device for making Lady Jane Grey queen but had preached against Mary's succession after Edward's death, was sent to the Fleet prison. Cranmer, overestimating the strength of the Protestant parties, boldly published a manifesto denouncing the Mass as "the devil's own invention," and offering to defend the Edwardian religion in debate against all comers. He, as a signatory to the treasonable device, was also imprisoned. Two other bishops, Hooper and Latimer, exchanged places in prison with Gardiner and Bonner. Before they were imprisoned they had done nothing, these four bishops, to restrain the passions of men and women who reviled the Mass, they had spoken no word in support of the queen's policy of toleration. Compromise, except on the basis of Edward's Prayer Book with its repudiation of the Mass, was as impossible for Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley as it was for the Zwinglian Hooper. As Protes-

[1] "At least two thirds of the martyrs who were burnt by Queen Mary would almost undoubtedly, had Edward VI survived, have been burnt in the normal course by the Church of England." *Cranmer and the Reformation,* by C. H. Smyth (Cambridge University Press, 1926).

tants, they alone had the light, they alone possessed the truth. Such words as "compromise" or "toleration" might apply to the settlement of differences among Protestants; there could be no compromise with anti-Christ, no toleration for "idolators." All four bishops had been Catholic priests. They were now persuaded the pope was anti-Christ, the Mass idolatry.

The re-issue, in an English translation, of Gardiner's book on the royal supremacy — the *De vera obedientia* published twenty years before — with its preface by Bonner and with notes uncomplimentary to the author, not only embarrassed the chancellor, it stimulated conspiracy against him — as it was meant to do. For Gardiner, once the enemy of the pope, was now the minister of the queen and her chief support in the policy of bringing back the pope's supremacy and undoing all that had been done for Protestantism under Edward.

Parliament, the commons, no more — and no less — representative that they were in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth, willingly voted repeal of all the Edwardian laws concerning religion. This brought the country back to the position at Henry's death. But before she could rid herself of the headship of the church the queen must see the church formally reconciled to the papal dominion, the people formally absolved and restored to the papal unity. Mary accomplished her purpose. She lived long enough to see the reconciliation and restoration of her heart's resolve.

But what Mary Tudor could not accomplish was toleration. Her proclamations, enjoining her people to live in peace and without disturbance of public worship, were but waste paper to the continental heretics who swarmed in London. These people, soaked in Old Testament narrative and phraseology, anticipated in their forcible methods the Puritans of the next century. From the first centuries of Christianity similar bands of heretics had appeared from time to time, claiming for themselves sole possession of the truth, ready to destroy the peace of Catholics.

The news that the queen was to marry Prince Philip of Spain provoked further disorders, in Kent and elsewhere. Protestants were not strong enough numerically to prevent the marriage with Philip or the general return to the old religion, but they were sufficiently aggressive to prevent a peaceful settlement and to provoke coercion and revival of burnings for heresy.

Confusion among the clergy made tolerance a necessity. The prelates who had married and yet wished to remain Catholics either put away their wives, and were forgiven, or they retired into lay communion. Scory, the ex-Dominican provincial, officiated in London, under Bonner's license, until he decided to go to Geneva. Others who preferred to live under Protestant rule abroad were free to depart, and so Miles Coverdale and Peter Martyr departed with many more who only became conspicuous on their return. Both Latimer and Hooper had opportunity to leave England, had they chosen to go. Clergy who without wishing to return to the old Faith were yet content to live in quietness and to refrain from preaching heresy were not disturbed. Matthew Parker was one of these; he remained in seclusion, unpursued, and giving no offence.[2]

Among the parochial clergy were men who welcomed the Edwardian Prayer Book as they welcomed the permission to marry. There were others who heartily disliked all the innovations and wished to live and die in the Catholic Faith and the Catholic unity. The great majority were inarticulate, submitting, as the laity submitted, to whatever changes in religion were decreed by "the powers that be." (Nearly two thousand clergy were deprived or resigned.) The new Prayer Book had not been printed and issued in large enough quantities to make its use general. It was liked in certain parishes, where clergy, openly Protestant, had long preached the new learning; but in the country, few could read, and the de-

[2]Non-Catholic and liberal historians have chosen to write of Protestants "escaping" to the continent in Mary's reign, or of living in hiding at home. But there is no evidence that the authorities wished in any way to detain or hinder them. Similarly if Protestants preferred to stay in England there is no evidence they were molested unless they provoked arrest.

spoiling of parish churches had not brought rural England to a state of mind easily receptive of Protestant doctrines. So far the progress of the Protestant Reformation had been hardly more than a series of punitive expeditions, and the country people had suffered the destruction of houses of religion, of the shrines of saints greatly venerated, as later they endured the confiscation of their parochial property. Naturally they were not attracted to the new Protestant teaching by these proceedings.

Confusion among clergy and laity as to the limits of obedience to the government also made toleration a necessity. A generation had grown up in the twenty years of royal supremacy in the Church, and Catholics and Protestants alike of that generation had been taught by the bishops that the pope had no jurisdiction in England. Gardiner was now at pains to shake off the opinions he had under Mary's father once so earnestly maintained. Cranmer, too, began to doubt whether obedience to the crown was always the law of God.

Toleration was the policy recommended by the emperor to his cousin Mary Tudor, and Philip, nervous of French policy and aware that the French court favoured revolt in England and in the Netherlands, urged the utmost leniency to heretics. Toleration was made impossible by the violence of Protestants.

The advice of Philip was not followed. The queen's council had no more liking for the Spanish marriage than the English people had for the Spaniards whom Philip brought in his train, and the council resented the suggestion of Spanish influence. Besides, the council had experienced in the first eighteen months of Mary's reign the desperate revolt of Wyatt in Kent, when the rebels entered London, and the common peace had been threatened by conspiracies and outbreaks in other parts of England. The council knew, as Philip did not know, the character of the anarchist sectaries and the Anabaptists, all alike restless and irreconcilable folk to whom life was unendurable without conspiracy and deeds of reckless daring. This type of revolutionary, the revolutionary of armed revolt and physical force, it will be found,

crops up throughout the ages. In its fervour and fanaticism it is as careless of its own life as of the lives of others.

The heretics with whom the council had to deal were for the most part obsessed with the notion that they were called to overthrow the religion of the queen, and at all costs they would carry out what they believed to be a God-given duty. They held themselves — these heretics against whom the council took action — as Israelites warring against idolaters, since in their eyes all who maintained the Mass were guilty of the sin of idolatry. No peaceable arrangement was possible with such people and the council knew it.

The members of the council might be indifferent personally on the religious question; they were agreed on the necessity for law and order.

The arrival of Cardinal Pole as papal legate — and William Cecil was on the embassy that brought him to England — followed by the formal reconciliation with the Holy See and the return of the Church in England, the *Ecclesia Anglicana,* to the Catholic unity — ended, as far as the council was concerned, further discussion of heresy. The Catholic Faith being now the recognised and established religion of England, all who openly challenged that religion or insulted its ministers would suffer the recognised penalty for their offence, and that penalty was death by fire. Not more than one religion could be allowed to enjoy public worship in any land. Protestants and Catholics alike were agreed on that.

Calvin at Geneva, Zwingli and Bullinger at Zurich, John Knox and his adherents later in Scotland, Lutheran princes in Germany, gave no liberty to Catholics and forbad the Mass. Catholic sovereigns, on their part, were convinced that to give Protestants permission to preach in public was to encourage civil strife and disorder.

Mary Tudor and her council were not prepared to endanger the safety of the realm by the show of tolerance to heretics who were themselves utterly intolerant. But the revival of the heresy laws and the burnings of heretics, which now followed, no more delivered England from conspiracies against the crown — for these continued till Mary's death —

than they strengthened the Catholic cause or proved the truth of the Christian religion.

The queen and Pole sanctioned the burnings, the council insisted on them.

Vainly did Alfonso di Castro, Philip's chaplain, preaching before the court the day after John Rogers was burnt at Smithfield, denounce the fires of Smithfield as "contrary not only to the spirit but to the text of the Gospel." Yet Rogers, at the outset of Mary's reign, had been required by the privy council to keep himself in his own house, so notorious was he as "a seditious preacher." The council believed that resolute government, and resolute government alone, could save England from the civil war threatened by the various conspirators against the crown.

Gardiner, before he died in 1555, sanctioned the prosecutions for heresy, but Tunstall would have no one burnt in his diocese of Durham, nor Heath in York. But then Protestantism had few supporters in the north. London was the direct challenge to law and order, for London was the headquarters of all the Anabaptist sects. Bonner's reluctance to commit heretics to the secular arm for burning gave way when the council remonstrated with him for remissness, and in the end more were burnt in London than in all the rest of England.

The numbers sent to the flames, over three hundred in less than three years, the last three years of Mary's reign, and the quality of certain of the victims, brought the heresy laws into disrepute. If two thirds were heretics whom Protestants and Catholics abhorred for their strange misbeliefs, one third must have been willing to receive the new Book of Common Prayer and were similarly minded with Cranmer himself.

The large number burnt shocked people. The burning of bishops shocked people still more. Three hundred executions in less than three years, and mostly in London provoked revulsion.

Burning by fire, as already stated, was the commonly accepted punishment for heresy in the sixteenth century,

as capital punishment is held by most civil governments to follow rightly the conviction for wilful murder to-day.

Latimer had preached at the burning of Friar Forest (whose "heresy" was the Catholic interpretation of certain New Testament texts) in the reign of Henry VIII. Ridley had preached at the burning of Joan Bocher, whom Cranmer had condemned, in the reign of Edward VI. There is no reason to suppose Hooper would have objected to the burning of the various infidels whose arrival in London he had deplored. But Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and others, who favoured or at least assented to the Edwardian Book of Common Prayer, would not for a minute plead guilty to heresy themselves. Heresy according to Calvinists and the new Anglicans was denial of the divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The old definitions of heresy — denial of the doctrine of the Mass and of Transubstantiation — were no longer considered by them as valid. So far from being guilty of heresy Cranmer and his fellow bishops were convinced that they had the truth, that their faith was the "primitive" faith of the Christian Church, and that they were the true "Catholics." To submit to the Roman obedience and to accept the Mass, the doctrines of purgatory, and all doctrines, in short, that Protestants did not hold to be proved by New Testament texts — that, for them, was to fall into heresy and "papistry." "Papistry," as it came to be called, with its allegiance to the "Bishop of Rome," was the root of this heresy.

Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley argued on these lines at Oxford before their condemnation. In the confident self-assurance that the Catholic Church had gone astray for more than a thousand years, and that God had revealed in these latter days the truth to the new Protestants, Latimer and Ridley faced death and gave their bodies to be burned. If they died without charity for the old religion in which they had been brought up — and no words of charity are recorded in the utterances against the faith they spurned — they gave their bodies to be burned in the quite definite hope that the Protestant cause would triumph.

Cranmer had not the self-confident position of Ridley and Latimer. A dilemma haunted and perplexed him. That the king and not the pope must be the head of the Church in each land was Cranmer's idea in the years of early manhood at Cambridge, and he had never departed from it. In other convictions — notably concerning the nature of the sacrifice of the Mass and the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist — he might be mutable and fluctuating; in his support of the royal supremacy Cranmer never wavered. Under Edward the royal supremacy had given Cranmer his chance to reform the Church in England and he had made the most of the opportunity. Now with Mary Tudor on the throne the very royal supremacy commanded him to repudiate the reformed doctrines, deny the Protestant teaching, submit to the pope's authority, and return to the sacrifice of the Mass and the dogma of Transubstantiation. Laymen like Paget and Cecil swallowed the royal supremacy and all changes in Church doctrine it involved, and helped to carry on the government — Catholic or Protestant. Cranmer could only remain loyal to royal supremacy by disavowing all that had been gained for Protestantism under royal supremacy; and by confessing it heresy to deny Transubstantiation. To Cranmer in his prison at Oxford this dilemma presented so many difficulties that he felt constrained to sign a repudiation of his Protestant opinions. No promise of pardon rewarded this recantation, and at the end Thomas Cranmer was satisfied that no earthly authority — papal or kingly — could be above his personal convictions. Finding in his heart an emptiness of belief in Mass and Transubstantiation Cranmer avowed publicly his Protestantism and so died.

In an age when Protestants fell greedily on Church lands and carried off as plunder all that beautified the sanctuaries and shrines of the houses of God, Thomas Cranmer sought neither gold nor lands. He is not to be charged with ambition, nor yet with compassing the death of any opponent. His genius was for liturgical composition in English, and the Anglican Book of Common Prayer is a literary monument erected by Cranmer that has withstood the storms and

tempests of nearly four hundred years. Cranmer's dream of a united federation of all Protestant churches in Europe was not fulfilled. It is still the dream of many Anglicans and still awaits fulfilment. Instead, he saw, during the reign of Edward VI, the first and second sessions of the Council of Trent, the forces of Rome preparing for Counter-Reformation.

Cranmer, first Protestant archbishop of Canterbury, was burnt as a common heretic. But many in England who shared his convictions, who enjoyed reading the Bible in English,[3] and who preferred the Book of Common Prayer — with its public worship in a language that everybody could understand — to the old Latin service of the Mass, were shocked that a clergyman so learned, and actually archbishop of Canterbury, should be put to death in this way. They held, the new Anglican Protestants, that Cranmer's creed, so far from being heresy, was the true religion, and that Cranmer and the other bishops who were burnt were indeed martyrs.

Had Cranmer and Ridley been executed as traitors, such men could have urged no ground for complaint. Both these prelates had endeavoured to exclude Mary from the throne in spite of her acknowledged right of succession. Both were involved in the plot of Northumberland for giving the crown to Lady Jane Grey. It was recognised that death was the penalty for treason — when treason failed. But Mary Tudor thought very little of treason and very gravely of heresy. To have plotted to keep her from becoming queen was but a small matter when compared with the persistence of these bishops — all of them ordained as Catholic priests — in declaiming publicly against the Mass and against the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Had they but shown any willingness to check the violence of the anarchist sectaries, to rebuke the law-breakers and the revilers of the old religion; had they been content to refrain from advocating the reformed order

[3]No English Bible was allowed to be read in public, nor was its reading sanctioned in private, under Mary. All existing English versions were disfigured by Protestant annotations. Not till Elizabeth's reign was a translation of the New Testament published by Catholics.

of public worship, and to live in retirement in England or in exile on the continent, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper need not have died at the stake.

Their convictions were too vital to allow such a course, their hatred of the Mass — felt more acutely because they all, in their day, so often pleaded its benefits — too strong. Cranmer alone became confused and uncertain, and in his confusion and uncertainty thought for a while he might have been mistaken; only to conclude that this thinking itself was the delusion, that his Protestantism was ineradicable.

To the queen these four bishops were far graver offenders against religion than the illiterate brawlers who shouted insults in the churches.

When it was plain that the heretics would not live in peace with their Catholic neighbours, that various clergymen would not, save under compulsion, give up the new order of divine service, Mary supported her council as Cardinal Pole did, in the enforcement of the laws against heresy. To her name was attached the responsibility for the executions that, at the time, angered and frightened many otherwise indifferent to the change in religious order. To the name of Mary Tudor posterity, in Protestant England, joined a hated memory of persecution and martyrdoms.

Yet it is certain that neither the queen nor the cardinal could have put any heretic to death had the council and the parliament been opposed. But the council, for the sake of the safety of the realm, held sternly to the policy of the firm hand, and on Mary Tudor and the Catholic Faith in England fell the reproach for that policy. No protest came from Paget or Cecil when bishops were burnt and hundreds perished at the stake.

The burning of bishops and the large number of undistinguished persons put to death for heresy in the brief period of Mary's reign, alienated from the old religion many who had no particular liking for the new. The Venetian ambassador, writing to his government, observed that Cranmer's death would "cause still greater commotions, as is

demonstrated daily by the way the preachers are treated, and the contemptuous demonstrations made in the churches."

Another cause of the detachment of sympathy can be named. The fear of being summoned to surrender the abbey lands and to make restitution for church property, very doubtfully acquired, repelled the landlords of vast estates from the restoration of the old religion. It was true that the acts of parliament that restored the pope's supremacy explicitly secured to their present owners the undisturbed possession of all church lands; true that every assurance was given that no restitution was expected. The queen herself by her example made many landowners uneasy.

For Mary did what she could to build up again the religious life in England, not only by inviting the return of monks, friars, and nuns, but also by re-endowing the restored communities with crown lands, annexed from the Church. The example did not commend itself to landlords not always in possession of a good title to their property. The new landlords were willing enough for the most part to support the old religion, since the queen, her council, and parliament so ordered it; they had no objection to monasteries, priories, and convents — provided present owners were not to be disturbed. But there was always danger of such disturbance when a Catholic sovereign desired ecclesiastical property to be restored to the Church.

Mary Tudor did what she could to bring back religion to England; it was the purpose that ruled her life. The abbey at Westminster once more had its Benedictine monks; at the old priory of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, the Dominican friars were granted a temporary home. Bridgettine nuns returned to their former convent at Syon House, Isleworth; Carthusian monks, to their charterhouse at Richmond — the house of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen.

But the sands were running out, and with intervention in foreign politics the reign of Mary Tudor ended in the shadow of defeat and papal displeasure. To assist her husband, now King Philip of Spain and at war with France, Mary sent English troops abroad. The answer to this was

the storming of Calais by the French and the recovery of England's last possession. The English occupation in France had lasted for more than two hundred years. It was finished; with no immediate results of gain or loss to either country, save injury to English pride and inflation of the military pride in France.

The displeasure of Pope Paul IV (Caraffa) was incurred by this support of Spanish arms against France. For the pope was fiercely anti-Spanish in policy and therefore anti-Pole and anti-England. Cardinal Pole had once sat with Caraffa on the *Consilium de emendanda* that issued its report on the deplorable state of ecclesiastical matters in Rome. He had assisted at the first two sessions of the Council of Trent. He had proved his loyalty to the papal supremacy, as he proved his devotion to the Catholic Faith. "Believe as firmly as if your salvation depended on faith alone: act as if good works were all-sufficient," was the advice of Cardinal Pole to Victoria Colonna in 1546.

On Cranmer's death Pole had been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury and continued in office as papal legate. Now rumours were spread in Italy that the cardinal was doctrinally "unsound," and Paul IV, detesting the close alliance of England with Spain, proposed to revoke the legatine commission and summon the archbishop to answer his accusers in Rome. To Mary Tudor this was intolerable injustice and the pope did not persist.

A year later, and both Pole and Mary were dead. Embroiled in foreign politics that brought neither comfort to herself nor won good will from her subjects, Mary Tudor died, in the knowledge that the crown would pass to the daughter of Anne Boleyn.

The last sovereign of Catholic England died, gravely distrusted as a Spaniard by an irascible pope.

The last Catholic archbishop of Canterbury died suspected at Rome of heretical tendencies.

The work of restoration had come to an end. As men and women doubted what the accession of Mary would accomplish, so they speculated on the policy of the new queen, Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn.

Chapter VI

THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION

Summary

England Catholic at Elizabeth's accession ✦ a Protestant minority bent on a change in religion ✦ Elizabeth, a professed Catholic, prepared to risk the change ✦ return to the position under Henry VIII impossible ✦ settlement of religion proposed in first year of Elizabeth ✦ Edwardian Book of Common Prayer the exclusive use, the queen supreme governor "as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal" ✦ opposition of Catholic hierarchy silenced by imprisonment ✦ lack of any outstanding figure among Catholics ✦ general acquiescence of clergy through doubt and uncertainty ✦ return of Protestants from the continent ✦ departure of religious orders ✦ Philip of Spain for ten years the protector of England from papal censure ✦ no bloody persecution of Catholics ✦ success of the policy of gradual extinction ✦ Catholic extinction defeated by activity of William Allen ✦ northern rising ✦ prohibition of attendance at Anglican worship ✦ influence of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* ✦ Protestantism identified with patriotism ✦ Calvinism, the driving force ✦ settlement of religion accomplished and consolidated in twenty years ✦ excommunication of Elizabeth by Pius V ✦ unhappy results to English Catholics ✦ increased penal laws.

CHRONOLOGY

Europe

1562–63 Third and final sessions of the Council of Trent.

1562 Carmelite reform of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross.

1564 Papal bull *injunctus nobis* declares decrees of council of Trent *de fide*.

1566 St. Philip Neri founds the Oratorians.

1571 St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan.
Battle of Lepanto.

1572 Massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris.

Great Britain

1559 Parliament abolishes papal supremacy in England and Wales, and passes act of uniformity making second Edwardian Book of Common Prayer sole and compulsory use. Oath required acknowledging the queen's supremacy. The Mass prohibited.

1562 Catholics excluded from parliament on refusal of oath of queen's supremacy.
Foxe's *Acta et Monumenta* (*Book of Martyrs*) and Jewel's *Apology for the Church of England* published.

1568 William Allen founds seminary at Douay for English theological students. Similar colleges created at Rome and Valladolid.

1570 Elizabeth excommunicated by Pope Pius V. Copy of the bull *regnans in excelsis* affixed to the door of bishop of London's house.

1571 Parliament makes it high treason to deny the queen's supremacy or bring papal bulls or objects of Catholic piety into England. Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles required of all Church of England clergy by decree of parliament.

1575 Dutch Anabaptists burnt in Smithfield.

1577 First seminary priest, Bl. Cuthbert Mayne, executed at Launceston under act of 1571.

Chapter VI

THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION

England was a Catholic country at Elizabeth's accession. The late queen was buried with all the solemn rites of the Catholic Church. Requiems were sung not only for her soul but also for the soul of the Emperor Charles V. The coronation of Elizabeth was attended with the old ceremonial, and the queen took the ancient and customary oath to maintain the privileges of the Church. The proclamation announcing the accession forbad "upon any pretence" alteration or change of "any order or usage presently established within this our realm."

So for six weeks the old order endured. But change was imminent, for a Protestant minority was resolutely bent on change and everywhere it was soon said that the queen was favourable to Protestantism. In particular was it said that the queen denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation and was therefore against the Mass, since she would not allow the Host to be elevated and adored at the service in her royal chapel.

Elizabeth had professed the Catholic Faith under Mary, but it is quite certain she did not hold it. She was, in fact, without the Tudor zest for religion and stood as remote from the devotion of Mary to the old Faith, as from the precocious interest of Edward in the new doctrine, or the self-assured capacity of her father to define all theological truth. Elizabeth is rather a daughter of the Renaissance than of the Protestant Reformation. Catholicism demanded submission to the pope, but it demanded more than that — it demanded belief in the sacrifice of the Mass and in the transcendent mystery of the change of bread and wine into the very body and blood of the Redeemer. Elizabeth believed neither in

the sacrifice nor in Transubstantiation, and was confident that with a privy council like-minded, and with London possessing a notoriously Protestant group and a population generally obedient, a settlement of religion could be effected on the lines of the Edwardian reform; a national church, with the queen for its supreme governor and its religion "established by law" and the authority of parliament.

The ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth must have been determined before she came to the throne. It was a bold policy and it was dangerous. By far the safer plan was to maintain the existing order, to keep her realm within the Catholic unity, to stand by the Marian restoration. The popes were friendly to the new queen and well disposed. Both Paul IV and his successor Pius IV accepted Elizabeth as queen of England and desired amicable relations. The Catholic hierarchy was entirely loyal. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge were conspicuously Catholic. Clergy and laity throughout the country had returned to the old Faith and to the practice of the old religion of England. A minority certainly favoured the Protestant religion, preferring a form of public worship in the common tongue and the Bible in English. There is no reason to suppose this minority would have made trouble had Elizabeth continued, as she began, by forbidding "upon any pretence" the alteration or change in the public services of religion.

But Elizabeth never intended such continuance. She did not believe in the Mass and she could not stomach a papal supremacy over the Church in England. Papal supremacy meant to Elizabeth, as it meant to her father, and to other rulers in Europe, an infringement of the rights of the sovereign, the interference of a foreigner in matters strictly domestic. Elizabeth would not tolerate this interference. Within her realm the queen would be supreme; the Church, a national Church, owning no allegiance to papal or other external authority. The pope was not notified of her accession, as accustomed courtesy required, and the English ambassador to the pope was ordered by the queen to return home.

Yet the risks taken on this change of policy — the repudia-

tion of the pope's supremacy and the establishment by law of the Protestant religion in the English Church — were very considerable. It endangered the alliance with Philip of Spain, and not for many years to come could Elizabeth afford an open quarrel with Philip. And then there was Mary Stewart, grand-daughter of Henry VIII's sister Margaret and, if Elizabeth died without issue, heir to the throne of England. Mary Stewart to be known — soon after Elizabeth's accession — as queen of Scots, not only represented the interests of the French monarchy, she was above all a Catholic, and in the end was to die because she was a Catholic. Elizabeth, by becoming the champion of Protestantism, made Mary Stewart the hope of English Catholics, unable to bear the prospect of England lost forever to the Faith of their fathers. While Mary lived hope lived, hope in a Catholic restoration.

Elizabeth was rarely diverted from her purpose because danger threatened. She took risks and hazards as they came. The decision that England under her rule must be Protestant once taken, the risks were faced. The decision was taken deliberately; the safer plan rejected after careful consideration.

Between Protestantism and Catholic unity under the supremacy of the pope there was no middle course.

To return to the position of Henry VIII — the Catholic Faith without the pope — was impossible. Tunstall, Bonner, and the Catholic bishops would not for a second time repudiate the pope, and Elizabeth would not have the Mass. Besides, the Protestants who had left England in Mary's reign were now swarming back, for the most part full of Calvinist divinity and with argumentative abilities sharpened by active participation in the controversies of Geneva, Zurich, and Frankfort.[1]

Elizabeth, by inviting Protestants to her council and above all by fastening on William Cecil as the man for her chief

[1]See for these controversies "A brief discourse on the Troubles begun at Frankfort in the year 1554 about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies" (London, 1575. Re-printed 1846).

minister, prepared for the change in religion and the settlement of religion. There was to be no violent persecution of Catholics according to the Elizabethan policy. The change would be merely the return to the position under Edward VI. The settlement would be accomplished by the privy council through acts of parliament, and it would be permanent. Catholicism would die a natural death, unhastened by violent operations.

So it seemed to Elizabeth and Cecil in the beginning of the year 1559, when certain of the Protestant party, but recently returned from the continent, were already impatient at the delay. John Jewel, for instance, later bishop of Salisbury and vigorous apologist of the Church of England, is writing to Peter Martyr that "the country is still everywhere desecrated by the Mass. . . . The bishops are a great hindrance to us; for being as you know among the nobility and leading men in the upper house and having none there in our side to expose their artifices they easily over-reach our little party, either by their numbers or their reputation for learning." At the same time Jewel recognised that Elizabeth was on the Protestant side: "The queen, meanwhile, though she openly favours our cause, yet is wonderfully afraid of allowing any innovations. . . . She is, however, prudently and firmly and piously following up her purpose, though somewhat more slowly than we could wish."

The pace was quickened when Elizabeth's first parliament met, early in 1559, and proceeded to pass the Act of Supremacy, "restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same," and then the Act of Uniformity ordering, "the sole and exclusive use of the second Prayer Book of Edward VI from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist (June 24) next coming."

Royal Injunctions followed the Act of Uniformity, permitting the marriage of clergy on condition that the bishops with two justices of the peace approved the lady chosen by priest or deacon; that the metropolitan and royal commissioners "allowed and approved" the marriage of bishops. An

appendix to these same Injunctions ordered that a holy table should be "decently made and set up in the place in every church where the altar stood." At the time of the administration of Holy Communion the holy table was to be moved within the chancel and after the communion placed where it stood before.

This first parliament of Elizabeth, like the parliaments of the previous reigns, was called to carry out the will of the royal council. It is true that the crown issued writs for sixty new boroughs, as against forty-eight under Edward VI and twenty-one under Mary; not till the end of the reign did the house of commons come to recognise itself for what it was — a free assembly. The freedom of the commons remained, as before, definitely restricted. The business of the commons was to pass the bills introduced by the queen's ministers. Debate and discussion were not expected, and on matters of religion were not allowed.

The commons as dutifully obeyed the royal will in 1559 as in the parliaments of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary. Not so the lords. The bishops, subservient under Henry, put up a fight against the re-enactment of royal supremacy and against the Act of Uniformity, with the result that the latter was carried by only three votes. Convocation, meeting at the same time as parliament, also declared itself very positively for the old religion; i.e., for the papal supremacy and the Mass. The superseding of the pope's authority by the crown was under Henry VIII largely the work of the clergy — bishops, abbots, and priors in particular allying themselves with the crown. The settlement of religion under Elizabeth by act of parliament, the abolition of the pope's supremacy, the separation from Catholic Christendom, and the appointment of the Book of Common Prayer as the exclusive directory of public worship in the Church of England — was entirely the work of the laity.

The Catholic bishops opposed the legislation that was to make England a Protestant country and, with one exception, Kitchen of Llandaff, refused the oath acknowledging the queen as supreme governor of the church. Imprisonment

swiftly followed. In the case of Edmond Bonner, bishop of London, who contested the legal proceedings in the courts, this meant ten years — a life sentence — in the Marshalsea. (Four years under Edward VI and ten years under Elizabeth, in all fourteen years, did Bishop Bonner spend in prison.) For Tunstall, over eighty and dying within the year, it meant a not-too-rigorous confinement; and for Archbishop Heath, an early release to his own house at Cobham in Kent. There he lived under surveillance, obliged to abstain from all intercourse with fellow Catholics, and dying in the same year as Edmond Bonner. Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln, the last of the Marian bishops, was first imprisoned in the Marshalsea and then at Wisbech, where he died in 1584. One member of the Catholic hierarchy, Thomas Goldwell, bishop of St. Asaph, went abroad to take part in the Council of Trent and die in exile.

At the outset, Cecil and Elizabeth would have no martyrdoms. The bishops hidden away in prison were soon forgotten. The clergy who would not accept the new order and would not give up the Mass would in course of time be removed and would leave no successors. The laity were persuaded to attend the new Anglican service by a method hitherto unknown in the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline. They were taxed for non-attendance. An ingenious and deadly device and, as time went on, exceedingly efficacious. It was not directed against the poor, this fine for non-attendance at the new Sunday morning service in the parish church, it was the nobility and gentry who were summoned, the country landlords; and in the end it wore them down. Not all capitulated, and on many a squire in the north of England and less accessible rural parts it was found impossible to enforce the fines. Where the landowners remained Catholic — as in Lancashire — their tenantry for the most part held to the religion of their forefathers. Sheriffs and justices of the peace, themselves disliking the new service, hindered the collecting of fines in many cases.

But Cecil steadily, inexorably, reduced the opposition.

Commissioners were sent to demand the oath of supremacy from heads of colleges in the universities and from all persons responsible for the local government. Resignation from office was the alternative to fine or imprisonment.

There was no bloody persecution of Catholics in these first years of Elizabeth if Catholics would but attend their parish churches on Sunday. Neither was any objection taken to Catholics leaving England for the continent. The religious Orders, unable to subscribe to the oath of royal supremacy or give up the Mass, were dissolved, their members freely allowed to depart, their houses to become the property of the crown.

There was no bloody persecution; but if Catholics would not go to church they would be taxed and taxed and taxed until their means of livelihood were gone, their lands and estates sold to satisfy the tax-gatherer. The law called it a fine for non-attendance, it was really a tax that amounted to confiscation as the years passed. The means of the recusants, as the Catholics were called, who would not yield their conviction that one could not be a Protestant of the new Anglican fashion and remain faithful to the Catholic unity, were diminished; as their property decreased, the amount of the fine, so far from being reduced on that account, was raised when it seemed expedient to the queen's council to give an extra turn to the screw. So the meshes were made still smaller in the net that must bring the whole population within the Church of England.

It was not a bloody persecution. It was enforcement of law, this new method for compelling conformity to the established religion, this method of starving dissidents into submission.

With all the bishops in prison and no outstanding figure among the laity to give a lead — Cardinal Pole had noted the absence of men of mark — the Catholics of England were left in doubt and uncertainty. The clergy generally acquiesced in the changes ordered by the Act of Supremacy, as they had acquiesced in the changes made in the reign of Ed-

ward VI, and during the return to the old order under Mary. Of eight thousand clergy less than one thousand resigned or were deprived in the first six years of Elizabeth.[2]

Many of the priests read the new Anglican service and then said Mass in the neighbouring Manor House. Some administered the Lord's Supper according to the Prayer Book rite in the parish church and still said Mass elsewhere.

As with the parochial clergy, so with the laity. The majority conformed, accepting the new service as they had accepted the previous arrangements for public worship. Only a minority held passionately to the Mass. A still smaller minority as passionately welcomed the Protestant doctrine. Between attachment to the parish church and loyalty to the old religion, with dislike of the new, the minds of many were distracted and their affections hopelessly divided.

The Elizabethan policy for the settlement of religion was eminently successful in the first ten years of the queen's reign. Successful in spite of the risk of interference from Philip of Spain; of excommunication by the Pope — for Elizabeth, crowned as a Catholic sovereign, was liable to papal censure; of revolt at home.

The English people, clergy and laity, troubled and perplexed, were not to be kept away from their parish churches, neither did they shun the new Anglican service. Despoiled as the churches were, defaced, with the altars once more pulled down as they had been in the years of Edward VI, stripped bare of ornaments, of the tokens of affection erected wherever men and women build to the glory of God — stripped so bare indeed that within two years of her accession the queen gave orders to her bishops for "tables of the Ten Commandments to be set or hung in the east end of the chancel to be not only read for edification, but also to give some comely ornament and demonstration that the same is a place of religion and prayer" — the parish churches were still for the bulk of the English people endeared by associations not to be uprooted. To these parish churches of the

[2]See *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, by Dom Norbert Birt (1907) for an estimate rather higher than that of most historians.

country towns and villages, churches of an abiding beauty that has survived defacement, neglect, and latter-day restorations, the English people had been taken in infancy to be christened; at the altars in these churches they had plighted their troth in holy wedlock; in the adjoining churchyard lay their dead; within the church itself were the great people of the parish buried.

They would no longer hear Mass sung of a Sunday morning and on the holydays; the old ceremonies that belonged to Candlemas and Ash Wednesday, to Palm Sunday and Good Friday, to Corpus Christi and the annual feast of the patron saint of the parish were gone. A new service, strangely unfamiliar, was all that was offered in place of the old-time order of litany, Mass, and evensong. But the church itself remained. And if it was a return to the dark days of Edward VI — well, those days had passed, and who could say that these days of Protestant starkness would not pass too, and the old religion once more be practised? Elizabeth would not live forever and when she died the next queen would surely be a Catholic.

So men argued, and while some of the Catholic nobles looked to Philip of Spain to help get rid of the Protestant tyranny, and others counted on Mary Stewart coming to the throne, increasing numbers of the people went to their parish churches on Sunday, and dumbly gave passive assent to the new order of divine service. When, in answer to the question of distressed recusants: "Was it lawful for Catholics to attend the Anglican service without purely participating in the performance of public worship?" the answer came from Rome and from the Council of Trent that it was not lawful, the people still continued to attend, and landowners, faced with ruin as the alternative, preferred to conform to the law.

How wide was the surrender to the Act of Supremacy, how general, if not profound, the acceptance of the Anglican service, was proved when the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland rose in the north in November, 1569, to restore by force of arms the old religion, even as men of the north had risen thirty years before in the Pilgrimage of

Grace. No support came from the rest of England for the rising, no support came from Spain. When the government forces marched against the ill-armed and untrained levies the latter dispersed without fighting. Five hundred of these unhappy rebels were promptly hanged, and the earl of Northumberland, who had taken refuge in Scotland, was sold to the English governor of Berwick. For a few years kept in prison, Northumberland was offered a free pardon by the crown if he would turn Protestant and take the oath of supremacy. This Thomas Percy would not do, and so he was beheaded at York and is ranked as a martyr.

The earl of Westmoreland escaped to the Netherlands and died in the army of the king of Spain. No life was taken by the rebels during the forty days they were in arms, neither did the northern earls desire the overthrow of Elizabeth. They made it plain that their demand was for liberty of conscience; that Catholics might hear Mass as of old, without constraint to attend the Protestant service; and that Mary, queen of Scots, already a prisoner in England, should be released and her recognition as Elizabeth's successor admitted.

The rising failed; as it was likely to do with the Catholics in the rest of England quite unwilling to incur penalties for treason and felony, and steadily passing into the company of the indifferent.

As for help coming from Philip of Spain for distressed English Catholics, no man worked harder than Philip to prevent the pope excommunicating Elizabeth, or more successfully ensured the safe progress of Elizabethan policy. Philip regarded England as particularly under his protection and would not have any rupture with Elizabeth, for whom he hoped to procure a Catholic husband. Keeping the peace with Elizabeth in the years when the religious settlement was accomplished, Philip allowed the Protestant Reformation to triumph in England. For the first years were the dangerous years for Elizabeth, the critical years for Cecil; the years before submission to the renewed changes in religion had been staled by custom into habit for the majority of people, and while the hearts of many were still disposed with

affection to the old order. No doubt the cleverness of Elizabeth's speech, her ready wit and mental dexterity, left the successive Spanish ambassadors befogged as to the queen's real intentions in religion[3] and encouraged Philip to hope (and to convey to Pope Pius IV very similar hopes) for her final and definite return to Catholicism. The conclusion remains that Philip sacrificed the Catholic cause in England to political considerations. He put the safety of Spain first.

Fear of the king of France, of England the vassal of France should Mary Stewart succeed Elizabeth, shaped Philip's conduct, and the Emperor Ferdinand agreed with the policy of non-interference. The best the emperor could do for the relief of English Catholics was to ask Elizabeth to grant her Catholic subjects the use of one church in each town. The request could not be granted, it was explained, since no Catholic sovereign gave Protestants a like opportunity for public worship. (Already under Elizabeth and Cecil was England emerging from unimportance, and insisting on recognition as a European and definitely Protestant power.) Efforts of English Catholics to persuade the pope to take action against the queen of England, representations at Rome concerning the difficulties of English Catholics deprived of all episcopal guidance, were made; always to be frustrated by Philip's envoys. Pope Pius IV was dissuaded from issuing censures of excommunication against Elizabeth by Philip's assurance that it rested with the king of Spain to watch over the interests of English Catholics, and that papal interference would do more harm than good.

While Philip made the Catholic cause in England subordinate to the political needs of Spain and to his dominions in the Netherlands, which were threatened by disorders that preceded revolt, Elizabeth — still anxious to keep on friendly terms with Philip, since there was danger to England from the hostility of France — strengthened the Protestant cause

[3]For instance, the Spanish ambassador was persuaded that Elizabeth on her accession wished for an envoy from Rome; and that at the very time the English envoy was ordered to return home. Elizabeth could no more afford an open rupture with Spain in the first ten years of her reign than Philip could afford a rupture with England.

by identifying it increasingly with the national cause, and by kindling a patriotic feeling utterly averse to foreign interference, papal or other. Slowly, imperceptibly, yet more and more widely, the feeling spread and was fostered till it became an ineradicable conviction, that a good Englishman must be a good Protestant of the Church of England, with the necessary conclusion from such a premise, that to be of the pope's religion was to be disloyal to the crown and disloyal to the country. In fact to be a "papist" was to be no true Englishman and no sound patriot.

This appeal to national and patriotic sentiment — to the total disregard of national history with its thousand years of Catholicism — won a response exuberant and clamorous as the years passed. It gravely affected the Catholics themselves, dividing them into two parties before the end of the reign. Many an old Catholic family was stoutly patriotic, many an old priest of the Marian régime was as true an Englishman as any privy councillor of the new nobility or Protestant clergyman trained in the schools of Geneva and Zurich. All they asked for, these patriotic English Catholics, was to be allowed to worship in the ways of their fathers, without ostentatious parade of allegiance to the pope and without surrender of the pope's supremacy in religion. If this were disloyalty, was it more English, more patriotic to take the creed of a Frenchman at Geneva or of a German Luther and foist it on England?

But there were other English Catholics who saw in the patient submission to a Protestant government, in the humble request for toleration, in the beggarly petition to be allowed to live, nothing but a horrible confession of weakness and of surrender to the powers of darkness. They loved England not the less, some maintained they loved it the more, the Catholics who would not give up hope of the return of their native land to its old Faith. A Protestant England was to these fervent souls an England maimed and crippled, an England dishonoured, deprived of its candlestick. They could not sit down quietly and await events, these Catholics, when every year saw Protestantism gaining ground among

the people. They would at least do what they could for freedom in England, freedom to worship God as Englishmen had been wont to worship Him before the Protestants forbad such worship. They would not give up hope that a Catholic sovereign would yet rule over England again; that Elizabeth, the apostate, would be deposed; or that on her death Mary Stewart would be queen.

The cleavage between the two bodies, the Catholics who were for England, Protestant or Catholic, just because it was England, and the Catholics who were for the Faith first, and could not rest while England was denied the Faith, widened with the years. The Elizabethan propaganda for nationalism and patriotism was highly successful. It detached numbers from the papal allegiance and it provoked disunity among Catholics and so weakened the Catholic cause. It did more than any act of parliament could do to make the established religion a national religion, the Book of Common Prayer a part of the nation's literature no less than a manual for devout Anglicans.

Calvinism, the driving force in English Protestantism, bore with the Anglicanism of the established church in those first years of Elizabeth because this very nationalism brought England into the forefront of European politics, and made England the protagonist of militant Protestantism in France and elsewhere. For a time, as it became plainer and plainer that Elizabethan England was the strongest opponent to the pope's religion throughout the world, the Calvinists forgot their antipathies to the things they condemned in the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. Or rather, they were content to suppress their impatience, since as the nation grew in strength and wealth it menaced the more effectually the lands where Catholicism still prevailed, the lands where the Mass was said, the pope acknowledged, and the inquisition kept watch and ward over the pope's subjects.

Not all the followers of Calvin were content to put up with Anglicanism and abstain from opposition to the royal policy, for the sake of England's greatness as a Protestant power. Some grew restive and would not put patriotism

before their Puritan faith. Ordained to the Anglican ministry, according to the ritual of the Book of Common Prayer, Calvinistic ministers would neither conform to the ritual requirements of the Church of England, nor wear the surplice enjoined for public worship, nor the clerical garb. Miles Coverdale, returning to England in his old age, was one of these early Nonconformists or Puritans as they came to be called. He assisted at the consecration of Parker to the see of Canterbury, but preferred to resign his living and die in poverty rather than submit to Parker's injunctions and dress as a clergyman.

Another was John Foxe, whose influence in creating a positive horror of the old religion can hardly be exaggerated. To Foxe belongs very greatly responsibility for the popular hatred of the pope and all his works, for the distrust and suspicion of compatriots who held to the Faith of Rome — a bigotry born in the spacious days of Elizabeth, which lasted in Great Britain and in America till the latter days of the nineteenth century — and is not wholly eradicated to-day.

Foxe, a Cambridge man, busy in the controversies of Anglicans and Calvinists at Frankfort in the reign of Mary Tudor, came back to England on Elizabeth's accession and was duly ordained to the Church of England ministry by his fellow Calvinist, Grindal, bishop of London. But the Anglican requirements were as irksome to Foxe as to Coverdale, and his real work for the Church of England was his *Acta et Monumenta,* the *Book of Martyrs.* It was hastily compiled, as Foxe admitted, and full of mistakes, as Catholic contemporaries pointed out. Criticism by exposure of countless errors has in fact deprived the work of the historic value once awarded to it.[4] But at the time of publication this account of the sufferings of Protestants burnt in Mary's reign not only brought back memories of events painful and shocking to men and women of tender mind, it was taken for a warning and prediction of what Protestants might expect should ever England have another Catholic ruler.

The first edition of the *Book of Martyrs* came out in 1563

[4]See in especial the writings of S. R. Maitland in *Essays on the Reformation.*

and four more editions were published in Elizabeth's reign; five more in the fifty years that followed. As propaganda for the Protestant cause it was signally effective; it enjoyed a popular success at a time when such a success was not common. Bishops ordered the *Book of Martyrs* to be placed in Cathedrals that all might read from the chained copies how "popery" afflicted a nation. Many Anglican dignitaries had chained copies placed in parish churches side by side with the Bible in English. Every Protestant household of wealth and standing and respectability gave the *Book of Martyrs* a rank only next to the Bible. Men and women, old and young, gloated over the highly descriptive writing that told of the agonies endured for conscience' sake. The pleasurable sensation derived from reading of the bodily torments inflicted on others was bound to make such writing a rich and exciting treat to multitudes. Pictures of the tormented victims in the flames increased the interest. The "fires of Smithfield" passed from the pages of Foxe into the English language, as an expression denoting the usage of Protestants by papal tyranny.

English people are wont to have short memories for injuries received and to be curiously indifferent to past events in the history of their land. Had it not been for Foxe's *Book of Martyrs,* the bishops with the Anabaptists and other sectaries put to death under Mary Tudor would have been remembered with no more concern than Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, and the martyred Carthusians of Henry's reign were remembered. Even in a year (1575), when every stout Protestant who could read was being thrilled by Foxe's narrative, two Dutch Anabaptists were burnt by judicial decree at Smithfield, without any public expression of disapproval — except from Foxe himself — and without arousing any demonstration of sympathy or suggestion that the victims were martyrs. That the majority of the Marian victims of the law were accounted as criminal outcasts, as were these Dutch Anabaptists, was not told in Foxe.

The *Book of Martyrs* proved an immediate aid to the Protestant cause in the years when English Protestants were

still a minority. Its author was a Calvinist and a Church of England clergyman who scrupulously declined to conform to the Anglican rites and ceremonies.

Calvinism was the driving force in the Protestant movement in England, as it was in the Protestant movements in France and Holland. And the note sounded by Calvinism was extermination of Catholics. War to the death against the pope and against the pope's religion was the cry of the sincere disciples of John Calvin in every land, since it was plainly revealed that the pope was anti-Christ and the Mass a blasphemous idolatry.

In their own lands French Huguenots and Dutch Calvinists made war against Catholic rule. In Scotland the Calvinists were successful in armed revolt against the crown. When Calvinism took up arms in England it subdued the Anglican Church and put to death an Anglican king.

Under Elizabeth the energy of Calvinism helped very considerably to make England the greatest, because the wealthiest, Protestant power in the world, a power that challenged the Catholic sovereigns of Europe and waged war for centuries to come in the Protestant cause.

And yet neither the queen, nor the Church of England, nor the bulk of the people of England ever accepted the Calvinist doctrine — as the people of Scotland and of Holland did — or were favourably inclined to the Calvinist morality.

The Elizabethan settlement of religion was in no sense a Calvinist settlement — as the Puritans realized when their demands were ignored. For the essence of the Puritan opposition to the established church was neither dislike for church surplice and clerical dress, nor contempt for Catholic ceremonies retained in the Book of Common Prayer — the signing of the cross at holy baptism, the giving of a ring at holy matrimony.

Certainly the dislike and contempt were real enough, and in various parishes up and down the land were loudly voiced in Anglican pulpits by Puritan clergymen, thereby still

further distracting and dividing an already much-distracted laity. But the fundamental issue was the relation of Church and State. Lutheranism gave supreme authority to Protestant princes over Church and State alike. Calvin would never allow the supremacy of the State over the Church. The business of the State was to carry out the Christian rule of life, laid down by the godly who composed the Church, and to punish all who transgressed the moral law. Hence, the scandal to English Puritans was that a mere parliament and privy council of ungodly and worldly-minded men, under a sovereign not conspicuously of the reformed faith, should exercise authority over God's elect, appoint the chief ministers of religion, decree the order of public worship, draw up the forms of prayer, and generally dictate to the congregation of chosen and divinely guided souls the conduct to be observed in the house of God at the assembling for divine service.

Scandalous and heartbreaking was the position in England to Calvinists hopeful of extending the Geneva experiment to their native land; and the more grievous since John Knox had been able to carry the reform in Scotland; where the kirk, established and endowed with the property of the old religion, was independent of all state interference and in its worship and discipline could not be restrained by king or parliament.

In time the Puritans, finding it intolerable to submit to the rule of princes and the authority of parliament, left the Church of England and worshipped apart, to set up churches of their own that would in the course of centuries spread all over the world.

But in the first years of Elizabeth no open schism weakened the Protestant ranks, and the fact that many of Elizabeth's bishops held and taught the theology of Geneva, while content to minister under the crown, assisted the Elizabethan settlement of religion. For this settlement was a compromise, well devised for the inclusion of all Protestants within one national church. No compromise with Catholicism was possible, for Catholicism was "popery" and

the Mass. And the act of supremacy banished the papal supremacy, and imposed heavy penalties on all who recognised the pope's authority; and the act of uniformity forbad the Mass and allowed no service but that in the Book of Common Prayer. The said Book of Common Prayer, the book decreed for exclusive use by this act of uniformity, made a revolutionary change in public worship. It abolished the ancient and universal obligation of Christian people to assist at Mass on Sundays and holydays. The Sunday morning service, to be attended under pain of fine for non-attendance, was not even the prayer-book service for the administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion, for the new Anglican order of Holy Communion was not required to be celebrated every Sunday, and was in fact generally restricted to three or four times a year. The Sunday morning service was morning prayer of the second Edwardian book, a compilation from the breviary and other sources; chiefly the work of Cranmer.

How sharp was the cut from the old Catholic rule and custom, this new arrangement for Sunday morning worship revealed. There was no compromise with the Catholic Church in the Elizabethan settlement, since the Elizabethan Church of England utterly rejected the Mass, and disallowed the notion that attendance at the Mass was Christian worship. So far from encouraging the idea that the new service of Holy Communion was the Mass in English, no suggestion was made for its weekly or even frequent observance.

But the settlement did make it possible for Protestants of all schools to unite, if they would, in common worship, by carefully leaving vague the definitions on points of doctrine that separated the churches of Geneva and Germany, so that Grindal, bishop of London, and himself a Calvinist, could plead with recalcitrant fellow Protestants in 1567: "all reformed churches do differ in rites and ceremonies, and we agree with all reformed churches in substance and doctrine." To Grindal, whom the queen translated to the archbishopric of York and subsequently to Canterbury — finally to suspend him for disobedience to

royal orders — the great thing done was the abolition of the Mass in the new reformed Church of England. Grindal had been a Catholic priest, and knew the doctrine of the Mass: "I have said Mass and I am sorry for it," he wrote to his Calvinist friends.

The Calvinist minority had the energy that belonged to their creed. They resisted the Anglican settlement of religion, but they supported vigorously the policy of Cecil for the suppression of Catholic worship. Against the Catholics all Protestant forces were arrayed, whereas it was the government alone against Calvinist Nonconformists.

English Catholics — for the first ten years of Elizabeth — were still numerically strong, and strong in local influence in many of the counties, not only in the north but in Hereford and Hampshire. And in London, where opportunities occurred of hearing Mass in the chapels of Catholic ambassadors, at the risk of imprisonment by Bishop Grindal's action, they were to be found throughout the reign. But with a diminishing clergy, without the prospect of any new priests coming to their assistance, without episcopal guidance, the Catholic laity shrank and dwindled. Where the fines for non-attendance could be levied, the recusants, as the years passed, surrendered their liberty and submitted to the Church of England. Cecil's policy might in time have resulted in the total extinction of the Catholic body; as the royal policy in Denmark and the Scandinavian countries brought total extinction to the old Catholicity of those lands.

The Elizabethan settlement of religion was not popular, no one pretended it was popular, but it brought a change of religion without the civil wars that accompanied the change on the continent. And it endured, and still endures, despite the interruption of Cromwell's Protectorate and the Puritan commonwealth. The established Church of England, with its Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer in the twentieth century, is the witness that the work of Cecil and his queen endures, surviving hostile criticism.

The settlement was accomplished in the first ten years of Elizabeth; it was consolidated in the next ten. In those

years England was at peace and free from foreign wars. The country prospered, and as riches increased it was taken for evidence that God favoured a Protestant people.

The settlement was made by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity; it was consolidated by Advertisements and Injunctions, by compulsory subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, and by raising the standard of education for Anglican clergy. In the first ten years the supply of clergy was so miserably inadequate, that many laymen, willing but illiterate clerks, fervently Protestant but uneducated, were called to the ministry of the Church of England, and instructed to read diatribes against the pope, since in the pulpit they could do nothing else. The universities were empty of scholars. With the expulsion of all Catholic fellows and heads of colleges, the retirement into private life of all who would not take the oath of the queen's supremacy, Oxford and Cambridge were left deserted. Time was required before tutors could be found for the work of training an Anglican ministry, before professors of sound learning and orthodox Anglicanism could fill the chairs of divinity.

In Matthew Parker, the queen's first archbishop of Canterbury, the Anglicans had for their chief pastor a clergyman of moderate opinions and a lover of books. It was an immense advantage for the Church of England that Parker was no returned exile from Geneva or Frankfurt, no disciple of Calvin nor follower of Zwingli, but an honest English Protestant of the school of Thomas Cranmer. Parker may not have been a man of learning in the sense that Colet and Erasmus, More and Fisher were learned. He had not Cranmer's gift for turning Latin into English of singular beauty, or for compositions of stately English prose. But Matthew Parker, brought up and ordained to the Catholic priesthood in the days of Henry VIII, happy in the headship of a Cambridge college, and rejoicing in the "new learning," was the very man for archbishop of the comprehensive and national Church of England. Thoroughly Protestant in his rejection of the Mass and the pope's supremacy, Matthew Parker was content to hold a Lutheran

doctrine and to desire all public worship in the vernacular, with the Bible in an English translation for all to read. Though he gave approval to the destruction of roods and wayside calvaries, of statues and images, the removal of altars and the setting up of communion tables, he at least endeavoured in the pillage and wanton destruction of the old Catholic service books, to save what manuscripts he could from the flames.

Parker was no controversialist, no great apologist for the Church of England, like Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, but he had a definite standpoint, the standpoint of Cranmer, and he had arrived at it by the study of the Latin Fathers. The reformed Church of England must approximate in doctrine and in rites and ceremonies to the "primitive church," i.e., the Christian Church of the first five centuries. The argument set out by Parker and the houses of convocation in the Thirty-Nine Articles (1571) was, that in the course of the preceding thousand years the Church of the papacy had introduced a number of new doctrines, unknown to the early Fathers, had invented and developed a ritual equally repugnant to antiquity, had corrupted the faith "delivered to the saints," and in fact had become quite unrecognisable as the Catholic and Christian Church of the Apostles and their immediate successors. So far from the pope being the supreme head of the Christian Church, Parker, with all Protestants, maintained that the pope was anti-Christ and those who remained in communion with him no true Catholics nor true Christians, but blind and the slaves of superstition. The reformed Church of England was the true Catholic Church since it ignored doctrines developed since the fourth century to flower in the middle ages, and forbad devotions and religious practices unknown to St. Augustine. Parker claimed no continuity from Archbishop Pole, though he considered himself the successor of Augustine, sent by Pope Gregory. He, Matthew Parker, in fact was the very man for the Elizabethan settlement. He gave the note to the Church of England, sounded the message of "primitive" yet Protestant, Catholic and yet comprehensive, inclusive and yet

anti-papal. All that was medieval must be cast out, all that could be supported by the authority of the Bible, or at least was not forbidden by the Bible, might be retained. The note and message are as audible to-day in the Anglican communion, as when first sounded.

The settlement was displeasing to the Calvinists and became intolerable to Puritans. It was accepted by the great mass of English people, while the Catholics, without guidance and without the sacraments, hopeless and helpless in thousands of parishes up and down the land, silently returned to the parish churches, and sat through the Church of England service.

Calvinists and Anglicans were agreed that the Church must be primitive in its doctrine and discipline, though they have never agreed and are still at variance concerning the primitive doctrine of episcopacy, and the interpretation of essentials in certain articles of faith. In the same manner they are of different opinions as to the Christian law in various matters of conduct, and divided on certain questions of morals.

In the sixteenth century, Protestants, for all their divisions as to the nature of the "primitive church" were fiercely united in hatred of the papacy. Church of England formularies might lay stress upon the primitiveness of the new Anglican service, Church of England divines proclaim that Protestantism (of the established church) was one true primitive form of Christianity[5] — hostility to the pope, suppression of papists and the waging of war on sea and on land against countries that held to the pope — these were the things that roused English Protestants to action as no appeal to the primitive Church could be expected to do.

Puritans ridiculed the Anglican assumption that the square cap and surplice ordered by Archbishop Parker for ministers of religion were "primitive." And it remains obscure why

[5]In the eighteenth century Fielding puts into the mouth of Parson Thwackum in *Tom Jones* an expression of opinion that was quite general among Anglicans: "When I mention religion I mean the Christian religion; and not only the Christian religion but the Protestant religion; and not only the Protestant religion but the Church of England."

the surplice should have been retained as "primitive" for the Church of England, and alb and chasuble disallowed.

Parker and Elizabeth — for the queen had a lively fancy for pageantry and a taste for ceremonial — would have required clergymen to wear copes at divine service and preferred the wearing of the older vestments at the administration of the Lord's Supper, but for the bitter opposition of the men returned from Geneva and Zurich.[6]

Ridiculed and denounced no less vigorously was the contention that the form of worship in the Book of Common Prayer was "primitive." The primitive act of worship in the Christian Church was the offering of the Holy Eucharist — but this the Protestant of the sixteenth century denied, insisting that preaching and listening to sermons were the chief purpose of the Christian assembly in apostolic times. Therefore, when the Anglican substituted for the Sunday Eucharist commonly called by Catholics "the Mass," an order of morning prayer composed in the main from the monastic service of matins, lauds, and prime, the Puritans declined to have this form of divine service imposed upon the godly as a primitive observance.

The pope was anti-Christ; his followers were traitors to the realm of England, the Mass was idolatry. All sound Protestants, Puritan or Anglican, could concentrate on these articles of belief and let the dispute on primitiveness take second place. And they did — to the exceeding discomfort of Catholic Englishmen and Catholic Englishwomen.

That the Catholic Faith was not totally uprooted in the Elizabethan years, that a remnant of Catholics was saved, that in a Counter-Reformation many were recovered who had lapsed, was due to William Allen — principal of St.

[6]A rubric at the beginning of the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer directly ordered "such ornaments of the church and the minister thereof" to be retained and used "as were in the Church of England by the authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of Edward VI." And these "ornaments" certainly included the priest's customary vestments at Mass, lighted candles on the holy table, and numerous articles used in the ceremonial of Catholic worship — as Anglicans of the later Oxford Movement in the nineteenth century discovered. With the result that the Ornaments Rubric not only gave employment to ecclesiastical lawyers but also provided a field of research for antiquarians and students of Tudor church history.

Mary Hall, Oxford, later Cardinal Allen — and his recognition of the right of Catholics.

Allen was a layman when he resigned his office at Oxford rather than take the oath of supremacy. He was a Lancashire man, and it was to his native county he went to dissuade friends and neighbours from the occasional conformity to the Anglicanism that was sapping the Catholic resistance. It was Allen who brought new courage to the faltering, and fresh conviction to the doubtful; thereby strengthening the resolution that kept so many Lancashire families loyal to the old religion throughout the penal times.

But Allen saw that without clergy to administer the sacraments, without priests to say Mass, give Holy Communion, hear the confessions of and pronounce the word of absolution to penitent sinners, Catholic life was bound to decay, Catholic devotion to shrivel, and the Catholic Faith doomed to perish. Men and women would go — he foresaw — in larger and larger numbers to the old parish churches, would become accustomed to the Anglican service, cease from making confession, forget the Mass, and deny the Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, unless a Catholic priesthood could be raised up to save the Faith in spite of government prohibitions. No Catholic bishops remained free in England to ordain priests. There was no possibility of ordinations in England. Therefore Englishmen must send their sons abroad to prepare for the priesthood — for Englishmen were needed to minister to English people — and colleges and seminaries must be founded where young Englishmen, called to be priests, could be trained and prepared for the work in England. Above all, the clergy for England must be men of education and character; masters of all that was in dispute with Protestantism; men able to hold their own in debate with the best intellects of the Church of England; men learned in the Sacred Scriptures. Further, the clergy to be sent from the seminaries must be prepared to face torture and death for their Faith, and to suffer in their native land the hardships and anxieties of men outlawed and proscribed.

The Englishmen trained and educated for the English mission at the historic seminary established by William Allen at Douay, in Flanders, with their companions, who came later from the Jesuit College in Rome, did not fall short of the standard set up. They met their opponents in debate, they never flinched under torture, and for a hundred years to come mounted the gallows or were left to die in gaol — knowing themselves to be despised by the world as fools, and hated as traitors. They went calmly to death, and — they saved the remnant of Catholics in England from utter extinction.

The seminary at Douay had been opened a short two years when the papal excommunication of Elizabeth brought a crisis in England, where Catholics, dispirited by the failure of the rising in the north, still looked hopefully to the imprisoned Mary Stewart for the restoration of their Faith.

In Rome a pope reigned who took no account of the diplomacy of statesmen, or the political rivalries of kings. Pius V[7] was a Dominican friar, an ascetic, conscious of the authority committed to the successor of St. Peter. He had the power of the keys and in the exercise of that power would be guided not by earthly rulers but by God alone. English Catholics in Rome, notably Thomas Goldwell, the deprived bishop of St. Asaph, and Sir Richard Shelley, last English prior of the Knights of Malta, bore witness to the treatment endured under the rule of Elizabeth. The queen had allowed herself to be made head of the Church, had sanctioned laws that encouraged heresy and forbad acknowledgement of the pope's authority. The anti-Catholic legislation of the past ten years was recited. Pope Pius V, after due trial, did not hesitate to pronounce sentence of excommunication against Elizabeth, and Philip of Spain was neither informed of the process taken against the queen of England nor of the sentence passed. It had to be made plain that in spiritual matters there was no power in the world that could be permitted to obstruct the papal judgments.

[7]St. Pius V, the one — and only — pope to be canonized as a saint since the early middle ages.

Philip, of course, resented the pope's move. So did the Emperor Ferdinand. Later popes expressed their regret. The immediate result was to make life much harder for Catholics in England, to demand a loyalty to the Catholic Church hard to reconcile with loyalty to the crown. For the papal bull, *Regnans in excelsis,* not only put Elizabeth outside the Church as a heretic, it addressed her as a "pretended queen" — though the two previous popes had called her "queen of England" — declared her deposed, forbad her subjects to obey her laws or acknowledge her authority.

In itself the passing of sentence of excommunication was no great matter. Henry VIII had been similarly judged and condemned by Pope Clement, and small hurt came to the king. It was the publication of the bull that brought trouble and provoked the crisis. Clement's bull of excommunication had been left unpublished because there was no power to enforce it and hence it did not affect Henry's proceedings.

John Felton, a man of property in Southwark, who came of an old Norfolk family, acted entirely upon his own responsibility when he fixed a copy of the bull — probably obtained from Ridolfi, the pope's secret agent in London — on the doors of the bishop of London's house and then went home to await events. He was in the habit of acting on his own responsibility and contemporaries knew him for a rash, headstrong man, zealous for the old religion, and entirely disinterested in all his activities. Felton had broken no law by posting up this copy of the papal bull, for the act declaring it high treason to declare the queen a heretic or bring in bulls from Rome was not passed till the following year, but he was condemned as a traitor for denying the queen's supremacy. Felton had but to take the oath of supremacy, disavow the authority of the pope, and promise to attend the Anglican church service to be pardoned for his "treason." None of these things would he do, though on the scaffold, he asked the queen's forgiveness if he had offended her and gave his diamond ring to the Earl of Sussex to present to the queen. Felton's plate and jewels valued at £33,000 were claimed by the crown, but Felton's

widow, once a maid-in-waiting to Mary Tudor and an early companion of Elizabeth, was allowed by royal license to enjoy the services of a Catholic priest as private chaplain, and this license was not revoked.

The bull of excommunication was followed by no demonstration from France or Spain. It did not hinder Elizabeth from beginning a long series of negotiations with the French court for a marriage with Alençon, the brother of Anjou, or from contracting a defensive alliance against Spain, with whom Cecil had broken off all diplomatic relations for the time in consequence of the Ridolfi plot.

This, the first of a number of plots concocted against Elizabeth — always with the knowledge of Walsingham and Cecil, and sometimes with the connivance and encouragement of government spies — proposed by the aid of Alva's Spanish forces in the Netherlands to dethrone Elizabeth and make Mary Stewart queen, with the Duke of Norfolk, himself a Protestant, for her husband. Philip endorsed the scheme, the pope approved it, but Alva, who knew more of the state of England than did either king or pope, advised against the expedition until Elizabeth had been first arrested (or assassinated) by her discontented subjects. Cecil knew all about the conspiracy — for Walsingham, a Secretary of State, a Calvinist, implacable in his hatred of the pope and the pope's religion, had organised a secret service of extraordinary efficiency and his spies were everywhere — and at the proper moment "discovered" the plot. The Duke of Norfolk was duly executed. English Protestants, with Catholics, generally silenced, now became increasingly vocal and cried for vengeance against the queen's enemies. More and more their outcries appear (not to contemporaries but to later historians) as "public opinion," and they themselves as "the nation," or "the people of England."

The papal excommunication was accepted as a challenge. Elizabeth met it by creating Cecil a peer — Lord Burleigh — and parliament passed new acts, first making it treason for any person to deny that Elizabeth was or ought to be

"sovereign Queen of this realm of England and also of the realms of France and Ireland"; to declare the Queen "an heretic, schismatic tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown"; to acknowledge any right in succession or inheritance to anyone claiming the throne after Elizabeth's decease; or to affirm during Elizabeth's life "that any person is or ought to be the right heir and successor to the Queen's Majesty." Parliament was exclusively Protestant and Anglican from the first year of Elizabeth — since the oath to the queen's supremacy excluded all Catholics.

This was followed in the same year (1571) by the act making it high treason to bring into England and put in execution "bulls and other instruments from the see of Rome." The other "instruments" named in the act are "an *Agnus Dei*" (a simple object of piety stamped with the sacred emblem) and "any crosses, pictures, beads or such like vain and superstitious things from the bishop or see of Rome." The introduction of "pardons, immunities and exemptions granted by the authority of the same bishop or see," was declared a similar offence.

By a royal proclamation in the previous year all who gave information as to seditious books and bulls "should be so largely rewarded that during his or their lives they should have just cause to think themselves well used," while all accomplices who turned informer "should be preserved from the note of blame of accusing." It was a matter of course that henceforth informers should be plentiful.

Thus Cecil and Elizabeth replied to Pius V.

At the same time Elizabeth did very strongly resent the excommunication, with its reproach against the legitimacy of her birth and its several exceedingly uncomplimentary allusions to her character. In the letter to the Emperor Maximilian II, who had written, as Philip had, expressing disapproval of the bull, she asked him to do his best with the pope to get the bull recalled or at least not published. Maximilian sent on her request to Rome and the pope replied with a plain refusal. What was already done could not be

recalled or undone. If Elizabeth is so disturbed by the sentence, "why does she not return to the bosom of the Church from which she went out?" If she thinks the excommunication invalid and of no consequence, "why does she make such a stir about it?"

Henry of Navarre had no difficulty in getting absolution from Rome when he became a Catholic. Elizabeth similarly could have been released from excommunication had she returned to the old Church.

The bull pressed harshly on Catholics in England. The government increased its severity so that, with prisons full of Catholics, a decree of the Star Chamber was thought necessary in case people should mistake the severity for persecution. The queen, the proclamation stated, had no desire to have the conscience of anyone "unnecessarily sifted," or to know "what affection they had to the old religion." If it seemed that "in the case of a few prisoners" there had lately been something of the sort, it was all because "they have first manifestly broken the laws established for religion in not coming at all to the church."

There was no persecution, Elizabeth would fondly have men believe. Only people must attend the Anglican worship. Otherwise they were traitors. Catholics, since the pope had said the queen of England was no longer queen, would be taught that now more than ever would the government tolerate no foreign jurisdiction in England. Non-attendance at the Protestant Sunday morning service in church was a sign of allegiance to the pope, the pope who had declared Elizabeth to be no queen. Therefore non-attendance was sheer disloyalty to the queen, and disloyalty was high treason.

And unfortunate English Catholics — save for the minority who put their Faith before all national and patriotic considerations, and hoped to the last for the restoration of that Faith — as loyal to Elizabeth after the excommunication as they were before, and quite without will, or means, for deposing their sovereign, found themselves execrated

as traitors, liable at any time to arrest and imprisonment, and depressed by this papal pronouncement which obviously could not be obeyed.

Still, for the next ten years, the deceptive impression was to be kept up that there was no systematic persecution in England. Yet there was no end to anxiety and doubt and the harrying by spies and informers for English Catholics. Elizabeth, cultivating friendly relations with the court of France, would not have it appear that her English Catholic subjects were worse off than the Huguenots of France. And yet they were; for the Huguenots were granted full toleration for public worship outside Paris, while English Catholics under Protestant rule were everywhere denied the Mass and heavily penalised for non-attendance at Protestant worship.

Until the arrival of the priests from Douay and from Rome, Elizabeth, Burleigh, and Walsingham could watch with contentment the dwindling numbers of Catholic recusants. Parliament men, more ostentatiously patriotic than ever they were before the papal excommunication, passed laws which it was deemed could defeat any attempts that might be made from abroad to revive the old religion or set up the pope's authority, so emphatically cast down.

One priest, and he a convert from the Church of England, Cuthbert Mayne, the first of the secular clergy to die for his Faith under Elizabeth, was executed at Launceston in 1577. His treason was that he had on his person, introduced from abroad, pardons, i.e., indulgences, an *Agnus Dei,* and a papal bull. This last charge was entirely without foundation. His real treason was that he was a priest from overseas. Cuthbert Mayne was the first of the Douay clergy to die. He was not the last.

Twenty years of acquiescence and surrender on the part of English Catholics — so that Elizabeth and Cecil noting the diminishing numbers, might well count their policy successful — were followed by twenty years of bloody persecution. The coming of the missionary priests from Douay and Rome brought an increased violence of persecution;

met as such persecution commonly is met, by passionate resistance and the revival of faith. Clergy, and laity alike, willingly and cheerfully suffered death for conscience' sake rather than yield, and their numbers no longer diminished but increased.

But the twenty years of Protestant rule had accomplished the settlement of religion, and consolidated that settlement, so that the religion of the Church of England, the religion ordered by the Act of Uniformity, with its ministers no longer illiterate, was at least assented to by the majority of English people. In twenty years the Catholics of England were reduced to a minority, hated as unpatriotic, feared as conspirators, or despised as of no account, throughout the country. At the same time the endeavour to retain Calvinists, Zwinglians, and Lutherans within one comprehensive established church, if not obviously successful, had not entirely failed.

The next twenty years would see the work accomplished by Cardinal Allen through the clergy trained by him and through the clergy of the Society of Jesus.

The next twenty years would also see the division between Calvinists and Anglicans become deeper and wider; till departure from the Church of England, to the cry of "To your tents, O Israel," broke beyond repair the Protestant solidity and left the sterner and uncompromising Puritans free of state control.

Chapter VII

THE RESISTANCE TO THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

Summary

Patriotism and material prosperity ✦ Protestantism firmly established ✦ Catholic and Puritan in opposition to the religious settlement ✦ work of Jewel, Grindal, and Whitgift for the Church of England ✦ Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* ✦ seminary priests and Jesuits effect a Catholic revival ✦ persecution ✦ number of priests and layfolk put to death in twenty years ✦ martyrs of the laity ✦ New Testament in English for Catholics ✦ Catholic plots and conspiracies ✦ Protestant necessity to prevent accession of Mary, queen of Scots ✦ war with Spain ✦ divisions among Catholics ✦ opposition of the Puritan minority ✦ England at Elizabeth's death the foremost Protestant power in the world.

CHRONOLOGY

Europe

1602 St. Francis of Sales, archbishop of Geneva.

Great Britain

1580 Parliament makes it high treason to reconcile anyone or to be reconciled to the "Romish religion." Saying or hearing Mass made felony. Bl. Edmond Campion executed.

1582 English New Testament — the Douay version — published at Rheims.

1584–85 Parliament makes all Jesuits in England and seminary priests ordained abroad and all persons harbouring them, traitors.

1587 Execution of Mary, queen of Scots.

1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
Martin Marprelate pamphlets published.

1593 Execution of Puritan leaders under act of 1571.

1594 Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* (Books I–IV) published.

Chapter VII

THE RESISTANCE TO THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

England, then, in 1580, may be seen as contemporaries saw it, halfway through the reign of Elizabeth: a Protestant power and a force in European politics; a land where patriotism was winning the enthusiasm of a religion, and where personal loyalty to the queen was taking the place of the old English devotion to Our Lady, the Virgin Mother of Christ. Separated from Catholic Christendom, Protestant England boasted its insular independence and the pride of a nation conscious of increasing strength. Englishmen, enjoying the new experience, applauded all that ministered to the national pride and increased the material wealth of its rulers.

Merchants and citizens of London and the seaports, with many a country squire, found their patriotism and loyalty expressed by poets and dramatists of the time in phrases to become familiar as household words. Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Henry V, for example, patriotic utterances that are Elizabethan; utterances that have passed into the language, and are part of the national inheritance; that can still by the magic of words stir the feelings and kindle affection for the native land. They are not the sentiments of Henry of Monmouth, or of his age — history at least offers no reason for supposing anything of the sort. They are the eloquence of Elizabethan patriotism; a patriotism that was at the same time vociferously Protestant — though not in Shakespeare and the greater dramatists.

Articulate England, then, was patriotic and readily, for the most part, identified its patriotism with Protestantism. What the inarticulate England of yeomanry and peasantry thought about it all we cannot tell. They followed for the

most part the opinions and convictions of the big landowners of their neighbourhood, and pursued the year's round of agricultural work.

It is improbable that the "rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars," ordered by Elizabethan law (1572), "to be grievously whipped and burnt through the gristle of the right ear," were ardently patriotic, or that the "poor, aged and impotent persons," now for the first time, under this same act, required to be brought to the parish of their birth and there lodged in the new workhouses, were enthusiastic patriotic Protestants.

A number of laws towards the end of the reign also mention "sundry towns, parishes and houses of husbandry destroyed and become desolate, by means whereof a great number of poor people are become wanderers, idle and loose"; of depopulation caused "by turning tillage into pasture"; of the need of rating every parish for the relief of the poor, "but not above the sum of 6d, nor under the sum of ½d"; of further public whipping of "rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars"; and the conveyance of the same to newly built "houses of correction," or, if judged "to appear dangerous," banished the realm or sent "perpetually to the galleys."

Patriotism was aware of a social question. Protestantism thought to solve it not only by scourgings, and sending people to workhouses, houses of correction, and the galleys, but also "by the maintenance of the plough and tillage."

But the wealth, the material wealth, in the country was rapidly increasing, and both Protestantism and patriotism approved the adventurous spirit that sent Drake voyaging round the world and plundering every Spanish ship he met on the way. England was not at war with Spain. Philip had shown no enmity to the queen of England; yet Drake, so far from being blamed for piracy, was acclaimed as a hero, since he had not only robbed and injured a Catholic power, but also brought the spoils home to Protestant England. And a hero Drake remains for many to the present day. Most men are accounted heroes who at the risk of life and limb de-

spoil their neighbours to enlarge the territory of empire and shed wealth and glory on the home land. Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, and all the Elizabethan seamen were eminently Protestant. By personifying Spain as the enemy of England, they made it appear to their fellow countrymen that to be of the religion of Spain was to be the friend of Spain and therefore the friend of England's enemy; hence, a traitor and unfit to live.

To be a Catholic was to be pro-Spanish. Drake and his seamen were heroic figures, making war on Spain, singeing the king of Spain's beard and what not. The Catholic, sticking to the religion of Spain, stood self-condemned. And there was no escape from this condemnation save by apostasy. No matter how deeply cherished his love for England, the Elizabethan Catholic was called a traitor by the London crowd, and judged as a traitor when brought to trial.

Patriotism, the high spirit of adventure, and a prosperity (save for unemployed, sturdy beggars, vagabonds, and peasants ejected to make room for sheep) that brought luxury and pleasurable comforts beyond expectation, gave Protestantism the credit for England's high estate among the nations of the world. Similarly later the commercial supremacy of Great Britain was attributed by whig historians to the whiggish and Protestant character of its political constitution.

Elizabeth and Cecil at the end of twenty years saw the Protestant Reformation an accomplished fact. The religion of Protestants, established by law, was with the ethics of Protestantism, i.e., of Calvinism, proving more congenial to traders and business men than the old Catholic morality.

Yet for all that the Protestant Reformation had triumphed over the Catholic Church in England, it remained true that the plan of Cecil and Elizabeth for a national religion for everybody, a common form of public worship to be attended by all, had failed. The national religion of the Act of Uniformity was uppermost, but it was not by any means everybody's religion in England. At the public worship of the Church of England neither Catholic nor every Puritan

would assist, despite parliamentary enactments, injunctions of bishops, and heavy penalties for non-attendance. Cecil and Elizabeth had planted the Church of England on a sure foundation; and established it by law.[1] The Church of England was provided with cathedrals and parish churches throughout the land, and with ample revenues for the support of its clergy. Its bishops sat in the House of Lords as legislators and resided with their families in palaces. Not all these bishops were as active in the Anglican cause as Jewel of Salisbury, or the archbishops Grindal and Whitgift.

Jewel in his *Apology* both vindicated the Church of England against the criticisms of the Catholic controversialists, who contended in exile for the old religion, and he also explained at the same time why Anglicans could not but ignore the Council of Trent. It was a forcible piece of writing, this *Apology,* and it gave vast satisfaction to Archbishop Parker and other Anglicans who wanted their position clearly stated. So confident is the tone of Jewel's *Apology,* so complete the assurance of its author, that Parker decided that the book must be placed — with Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* — in all parish churches that the laity might read it, and learn from it the mind of the Church of England. Jewel could not provide such popular reading as Foxe, but as the Anglican ministry dropped its illiterates and was recruited from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the *Apology* became the textbook of all clergy wishing to be reputed of sound learning and anxious to know the case against Rome.

Jewel's Protestant contemporaries hailed the bishop of Salisbury's work as a masterly and irrefutable demonstration of the strength of the Elizabethan settlement of religion, and the influence of the *Apology* extended with the years. First published in 1562, while the Council of Trent was still in its final sessions, it was not till the middle of Elizabeth's reign that the book and its author were fully recognised for what they were: the one, the ablest because the clearest account of

[1]Reference is frequently made in the royal proclamations of Elizabeth and James I to the Act of Uniformity and to the "establishment by law" of ecclesiastical authority.

the Anglican position that had yet appeared; the other, the stoutest and best-equipped champion of Anglicanism that England had yet produced.[2]

There was something very heartening to English Protestants in Jewel's confidence that the Church of Rome was doomed, and the success of the Protestant reform assured because it was the work of God. And then the case for the rejection of the papacy, with a number of other doctrines repugnant to the Protestant reformers, was set out lucidly and vigourously. There is neither ambiguous phrasing nor hesitation in expounding the Anglican rule of faith in the *Apology*. Primitiveness, the primitiveness of the first six centuries, is the rule for religion in Church and State. The papacy must be rejected because it was something different in the sixteenth century from what it was in the first six. The doctrines and practices condemned in the Thirty-Nine Articles — namely, private confession to a priest (the sacrament of penance), clerical celibacy (the vow of chastity), Transubstantiation — the change of the substance of the bread and wine in the Holy Eucharist, with the worship of the Host — purgatory and Mass for the dead, the intercession of the saints, and of the Mother of Christ, in especial — are all to be rejected; because, according to Jewel, no authority can be found for them in the New Testament nor any word of support in the Christian writers of the first six centuries.

Jewel did perceive that doctrines had developed within the Church in the course of a thousand years, and with his fellow Protestants called such development a corruption. What Jewel could not recognise was the Catholic argument that the authority that defined through the Councils of the first six centuries the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the divinity of Christ was the same authority — no more and no less — as that which defined Transubstantiation in the Middle

[2]Jewel's was no bubble reputation. In the preface to an edition of the *Apology* published in 1792, Bishop Randolph, the editor, and a notable Anglican prelate in his day, declared that the book expressed "the genuine sense of the Church of England in her earliest days." Dr. Frere (Bishop of Truro, 1933), in his *English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I* writes in high praise of Jewel's "scholarship and wide knowledge of antiquity."

Ages, sanctioned the doctrines of Corpus Christi, and set forth the decrees of the Council of Trent.

The *Apology* is emphatic in the utter and complete repudiation of all doctrines and religious practices that flowered and came to their fulness in the Middle Ages. The reformed Church of England will have none of them. Neither will it admit continuity with the medieval and papal Church in England. Jewel testifies against the *Ecclesia Anglicana* of the papal obedience, the Church of Cardinal Pole and Sir Thomas More, of Stephen Langton and St. Thomas of Canterbury, of St. Anselm and St. Hugh of Lincoln, in language not to be misunderstood:

"For as for us, we have forsaken a church in which we could neither hear the pure word of God, nor administer the sacraments, nor invoke the name of God as we ought.

"We have departed from a church which is not now what anciently she was: and so we have departed as Daniel did out of the den of lions; as the three children did out of the fiery furnace; or, to speak more properly, we have not so much departed from them as been cast out by them, with execrations and curses.[3]

"Lastly, we have departed from him to whom we were in no way bound, and who hath nothing to pretend for our submission.

"We have departed from that church which they have made a den of thieves, in which they had left nothing sound or like a church — Lot left Sodom or Abraham Chaldea, not out of contention but out of obedience to God — and have returned to the ancient fathers and apostles, that is to the beginning and first rise of the church as to the proper foundation."

If the sentiment smacks of Geneva and Zurich, the meaning is plain English.

That the parish churches and cathedrals now occupied by the Church of England were built and endowed by people whom Jewel likened to Sodom and Chaldea, did not hinder

[3]Jewel is referring to the sentence of excommunication passed on Luther and other prominent Catholics who joined the reform.

Protestants of the primitive mind from rightful possession. It was sufficient that the crown and parliament had decided that these cathedrals and churches must no longer be used for the corrupt and "idolatrous" worship for which they were built, and had handed them over to ministers of the reformed faith for a more enlightened use. So had the primitive Church adapted to Christian worship many ancient temples of idolatry.

The reformed faith of the Church of England was the true Catholic Faith, for it embraced the three creeds — "the Apostles', the Nicean, and the Athanasian." The last-named confession of faith declared that the Catholic Faith was faith in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and in the divinity of Christ, and mentioned no other doctrine as part of that faith. Therefore in adhering to the Athanasian symbol the Church of England was truly the Catholic Church for it had "brought back religion to her original and first state," while the Christendom of the pope "we see clearly with our eyes has departed from the holy fathers, the apostles, Christ Himself, and the primitive and Catholic Church."

There could be no communion with Christians who remained in the Church of the papacy, and the unity of the Church was admittedly broken beyond repair. Therefore, Jewel concludes unity must not be looked for: "Unity and agreement do excellently become religion: yet it is no certain and proper sign of the Church of God."

The *Apology* gave effective service to the Church of England in the years when the Elizabethan settlement was consolidated. Its invective and highly controversial tone were congenial to the time, and it did provide an argument and set out a case for the Anglican establishment.

Jewel rendered a greater service to his cause by his patronage of Hooker. For Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* was no mere piece of polemical writing; it was a grave contribution to English literature; and it remains a classic example of Elizabethan prose. Philosophic and urbane, the *Ecclesiastical Polity* rests the defence of the Church of England not on the Sacred Scriptures alone, nor yet on

the Bible assisted by the fathers of the Primitive Church, but on natural law enlightened by Holy Writ. In general agreement with the theological doctrine of Calvin — as Jewel was — Hooker is very far from Calvin in the presentation of that doctrine. And the difference in tone and temper between the *Ecclesiastical Polity* and the Puritan publications marks a distinction between the Church of England and the Church of Geneva. Hooker argues temperately for the *via media* in religion offered by the Anglican establishment. To Catholics defending the belief that "supreme power in causes ecclesiastical throughout the world appertaineth of divine right to the bishop of Rome" and to Puritans maintaining "that the said power belongeth in every national church unto the clergy thereof assembled," Hooker suggests a middle course concerning this supreme power — "that kings within their own precincts may have it." This is the answer to the vexed question so hotly discussed: "Whether power ecclesiastical over the church, power of dominion in such degree as the laws of this land do grant unto the sovereign governor thereof, may by the said supreme head and governor lawfully be enjoyed and held?"

The middle way was the Elizabethan English way, and the reasonable way according to Richard Hooker. All who agreed with Hooker praised his book, and continue in its praise.

Again, in the matter of episcopacy, Hooker's middle way being the Elizabethan English way, it was widely approved. For the *Ecclesiastical Polity* urged that bishops, though not essential to the ministry of the Christian Church, had a justifiable existence, since episcopacy proved the more convenient form of church government. This ground of the reasonableness and convenience of the Anglican establishment — the royal supremacy a *via media* between Rome and Geneva; bishops useful but not necessarily indispensable; episcopacy appropriate but not of divine institution — commended itself to thoughtful Englishmen, proud of their common sense and pleased with the increase of trade, the commercial prosperity, and all the marvels of domestic comfort

and new luxuries this increase and prosperity brought. Material wealth, its pursuit and the variety of its products, gave to all honest Protestants (except they were of the poor and needy) an interest in things obviously more tangible than the hidden Presence of Christ in the Mass, than the help of saints and angels — so prominent in the old religion. It brought an excitement of rewards, of gains and losses in this temporal world, that bound up inextricably the hopes of heaven and fear of hell with success or failure in business here below, but left little time and less inclination for men of good sense to defy the queen and privy council on a simple matter of attendance at church.

Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* was not popular reading like Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. Such a popularity was impossible; for there was nothing sensational in the work of the "judicious Hooker." Neither could readers with a taste for the sharp tang of the controversial enjoy the *Ecclesiastical Polity* as they enjoyed Jewel's incisive periods. But Protestant divines at the universities read Hooker; students and scholars freshly arrived at Oxford and Cambridge, and training for the Anglican ministry, read him. The teaching of Hooker, absorbed by the moderate clergy of the Church of England, passed from the pulpit to the people to give the Church of England the character delineated in its own formularies for keeping "the mean between the two extremes."

When the *Ecclesiastical Polity* was first published (1594) much had been done to improve the quality and raise the intellectual standard of the clergy of the Church of England. A number of grammar schools in country towns had at last been endowed to provide an education for boys — largely left neglected since the destruction of monastic schools and the disendowment of the chantry priests.

A note quite alien to the tone of Jewel or Hooker was also struck in these years by a future archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft. It is the high-church note, suggesting an apostolic succession in the episcopate, to resound more loudly in the writings of Anglo-Catholic divines and to inspire the work of Laud in the following century.

Jewel, with his *Apology,* and Hooker, with his *Ecclesiastical Polity,* gave the Church of England an armory for defence or attack. Foxe, with his *Book of Martyrs,* excited its readers and caused an emotional hatred of the pope and the religion of the pope.

Edmund Grindal, first as bishop of London, then as archbishop of York and later of Canterbury, waged unceasing war on the "popish recusants" in his various dioceses, and so helped in his way to make the Protestant establishment secure; while doing his best at the same time to keep his Puritan co-religionists from breaking away from the established church. Grindal observed many lingering traces of the old religion when he went to York, and many signs that affection for Catholic customs and Catholic devotion had not yet been entirely removed. The people in the north, it seemed, were far from accepting the pure word of Calvinism, and recusants were plentiful; so that the archbishop himself committed various persons for trial for no other offence but "their obstinacy in papistical religion," just as when bishop of London he had procured the arrest of men and women whose only crime was attendance at Mass in the chapel of the Portuguese Ambassador.

Grindal issued his own injunctions for the northern province in 1571, strictly forbidding any vestment to the clergy but the surplice at the administration of Holy Communion, and prohibiting all crossing and lifting up of the sacramental bread and wine. Church wardens were bidden by these same injunctions to see that "all altars be utterly taken down and clear removed even unto the foundation, and the place where they stood pared and the wall whereunto they joined whited over and made uniform with the rest so as no breach or rupture appear. And that the altar-stones be broken, defaced and bestowed to some common use." Which was done; though not in every parish.

At Canterbury, where he succeeded Matthew Parker in 1576, Grindal issued similar injunctions and pursued the recusants as zealously as he had done in the north. But he also did at Canterbury what Parker had refrained from do-

ing; he ordered a clean sweep of "all books which served for the superstitious Latin service"; these books to be "utterly defaced, rent and abolished." (Parker had ordered only missals and breviaries to be destroyed.) In addition to the old service books, church vestments and ornaments were known to be concealed in various places; therefore "albes, tunicles, crosses, candlesticks, holy water stoups, and images" were to be destroyed wherever found.

It being reported that there were still persons so far from enlightenment that they sought to confess their sins to a priest, the archbishop enjoined the strict prohibition of "resort to any popish priest for shrift." Others could not be persuaded to cease from praying for their dead in the old Catholic way. The best the Grindal injunctions could do to meet this reproach to the Protestant teaching was to forbid all prayers for the dead in the churches, the observance of All Souls' Day, the tolling of bells after death, "nor any other superstitious ceremony which tends either to the maintenance of prayer for the dead or of the popish purgatory."

As for the recusants in the province of Canterbury, the churchwardens were bidden to seek out "any in your parish that openly or privately say mass or hear mass or any other kind of service or prayer than is set forth by the laws of this realm."

Cecil and Elizabeth might publicly deny that Catholics were persecuted when Archbishop Grindal issued these injunctions first in the province of York and then in the province of Canterbury, but Grindal had the burning conviction that the salvation of mankind depended on the uprooting of the Mass and the extermination of belief not sanctioned by the doctrine of Geneva, and his hand could hardly be stayed. Cecil indeed made no attempt to hinder the harrying of recusants, and when Grindal was suspended by Elizabeth it was not for his zeal against the Catholics but for his tenderness to the practices of Puritans, his disinclination to submit to dictation from the crown.

Grindal, for all his zeal against the old religion, declared as confidently as Jewel that the Church of England had the

true Catholic and Apostolic Faith, based upon the Bible and the Catholic creeds of the first four centuries. He calls it the "true religion and catholic doctrine now received and established by the common authority within this realm" in an injunction to churchwardens to seek "whether any persons read, sell or deliver any English books from Louvain."

John Whitgift, the third of Elizabeth's archbishops, and judged by Cecil and contemporaries to be a far abler man than Grindal, was put on the privy council and sat on the royal commission that condemned to death Mary, queen of Scots. Whitgift, theologically as stout a Calvinist as his predecessor, was less concerned with Catholic recusants — though the articles drawn up and signed by the Anglican episcopate urged that recent anti-Catholic legislation "be put in more due execution, considering the benefit that hath flown unto the church thereby where they have been executed" — than with the irregularities of Puritans, intrenched within the pulpits of the established church as ordained clergymen, or holding aloof in opposition, as laymen, unwilling to conform.

Whitgift's primacy covered the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign and his "articles touching preachers and other orders for the church," issued at the outset, "utterly inhibited" the private prayer meetings, the "preaching, reading, catechising and other such like exercises," the germs of the complete non-conformity of the future. Whitgift's articles demanded stricter enquiry into the loyalty to the Book of Common Prayer and to the royal supremacy of all seeking ordination; forbad lay preachers from preaching or interpreting the Scriptures, and sought once more to compel all Anglican clergy to dress like clergymen.

Burghley, worried by the complaints of Puritans concerning these articles, anxious to prevent an open rupture between English Protestants, reproached the archbishop for causing trouble with so many questions — "as I think the inquisitors of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys." Burghley needed to keep on good terms with the Puritans in the face of a possible Cath-

olic revival, threatened by the partizans of Mary Stewart and the work of the missionary priests. "I desire the peace of the church," he wrote in the same letter to Whitgift. "I desire concord and unity in the exercise of our religion, I favour no sensual and wilful recusants. But I conclude that according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring of the Romish inquisition and is rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform any."

Whitgift replied with all civility that the articles were nothing of the kind. They were no more than the courts of law ordered. In fact, the archbishop found his articles "to be more tolerable and better agreeing with the rule of justice and charity and less captious than those in other courts." How was it possible to procure the peace of the church desired by Burghley "after so long liberty and lack of discipline, if a few persons, so meanly qualified as most of them are, should be countenanced against the whole state of the clergy" and against a clergy "of greatest account for learning, steadiness, wisdom, religion, and honesty."

It was the illiterate among the Puritans who were the most aggressive, the most contumacious and articulate. Sir Thomas More as a young man had noted the arrival of new, untrained, and voluble persons professing the new learning, and he predicted nothing but mischief

> "When a hatter will go smatter in philosophy
> Or a pedlar wax a meddler in theology."

Whitgift, Calvinist that he was and hater of the pope as anti-Christ, and of the Mass as idolatry, was at one with Sir Thomas More in disliking the hatters and pedlars who preferred their own prayer meetings and preachings to attendance at the parish church for the service in the Book of Common Prayer and though unlettered themselves, were forever criticising their betters. And Whitgift discerned the danger to the established church from ministers who despised its ordinances.

Cecil and Elizabeth had affected a settlement of religion. They had not reconciled a nation to compulsory attendance at a form of public worship forbidden to Catholics and de-

spised by Puritans. Minorities made stout and lasting resistance.

They were minorities, Catholics and Puritans, but they were minorities not to be exterminated. The turning point for the Catholic minority was the coming of the priests from Douay and from Rome to save the remnant of the faithful, to recover the lapsed, and keep alive the faith and the old religion of the English people. The years of persecution were the years of the Catholic resistance and the Catholic recovery.

There was no longer any pretence that persecution did not exist after the arrival of the first Jesuits, Edmund Campion and Robert Persons, in 1580, when there were already a hundred secular priests in England from Allen's seminary at Douay. But Burghley still persisted that it was traitors who were persecuted and none others. The bull of excommunication declared the queen deposed and her subjects released from obedience; therefore not only were Catholic priests, as the pope's servants, plainly traitors, they were also, it was presumed, the pope's agents, conspirators seeking to compass the death of Elizabeth and to place a Catholic sovereign on the throne of England. So Burghley declared, and when Pope Gregory XIII's interpretation of the bull of his predecessor, that English Catholics were not bound to act on the excommunication "while things remain as they are," fell into Burghley's hands, he took it for further proof that the Catholics were only waiting till the time was ripe to put their plans into execution. The assassination of Elizabeth would be followed by the accession of Mary Stewart. If the priests from overseas were not plotting sedition openly, they were secretly telling people to prepare for the day when the excommunication would be put into force.

Burghley's argument won the case against seminary priests and Jesuits with a population indifferently Protestant but stoutly patriotic; and English Protestant historians have in the main seen the position as Burghley professed to see it, and written their verdict accordingly.

And yet in no single case was there a scrap of evidence that the priests who suffered death, either on the gallows or

in prison in the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign, had engaged in conspiracy, had said a word that was treasonable, or had in any way encouraged revolt. The government would certainly have procured such evidence had they possessed it. It was the question of the queen's excommunication that brought many priests to the scaffold, and even more the question — "the bloody question" as it was called — of what would the accused do in the event of an invasion by a foreign power to restore Catholic religion. In any case the refusal to acknowledge the queen's supremacy in religion was treason enough.

But the instructions to Jesuit and seminary priests were plainly worded and strictly forbad all interference in politics. By the general of their order the Jesuits were ordered not to "mix themselves up with affairs of state, nor write to Rome about political matters, nor speak, nor allow others to speak in their presence against the queen." The instruction was obeyed, and because neither torture nor perjury could produce evidence of any departure from these instructions it was held to be but a further proof of the secrecy and cunning employed by the Jesuits.

Similarly with Cardinal Allen's missionary priests. They were sent to England as other missionaries were sent to the Indies, "and every day with like good will and hourly expectation of death," and for no other purpose but to bring the English back to the Catholic Faith.

Campion, once a brilliant scholar at St. John's, Oxford, and a convert from the safety promised to a highly successful career at court to the life of danger, had less than a year of missionary labour before betrayal by a false friend brought him to the Tower, to the rack, and thence to Tyburn. He was the first of the Jesuit martyrs, to be followed by Robert Southwell, the poet, and nine others. Persons, escaping abroad when Campion was taken, directed the Jesuit mission from the continent, and sought by political aid the restoration of his heart's desire. Persons, while he had been in England with Campion, had no other intent but "to preach the gospel, to minister the sacraments, to instruct the

simple, to reform sinners, to confute errors." But in exile he could not see England lost to the Faith and do nothing. He exaggerated the numbers of English Catholics ready to take up arms, very much as Jacobites exaggerated in 1745 the number of their active supporters in England, and he put religion before patriotism. His schemes came to nothing, his hopes were never fulfilled. Yet Persons loved England with as passionate a love as any who died for the old religion. He was one of those who saw in an England Protestant their native land put to shame and dishonoured among the nations.

One hundred and thirty priests and sixty of the laity were put to death for resistance to the Protestant settlement of religion under acts of parliament passed between 1580–1600. The first of these acts made it high treason to convert or reconcile any person "to the Romish religion," or be converted or reconciled, and ordered heavy fines and a year's imprisonment for every person saying Mass or hearing Mass.

Four years later came the act making it high treason for all priests ordained abroad to enter England. The act also banished them under penalty of death, with similar penalty for all who sheltered them, requiring them to leave England within forty days, and declared every student abroad who did not return within six months to be a traitor. Pardon would be granted to all who acknowledged the queen's supremacy in religion and disavowed the pope.

Finally came the act of 1593 "against popish recusants," requiring all such recusants over sixteen years not to travel more than five miles from their abode and dwelling place without license of justice of the peace and the bishop. The penalty for breaking this law was the forfeiture of all goods and property for life.

Persecution helped to kindle resistance, it did not break the spirit of the recusants or intimidate the missionary clergy from overseas.

While the latter were specially trained in the seminary to face danger and be hunted; to live in hiding and wander as fugitives in disguise; to live in daily peril of betrayal by false

friends; to hold themselves ready for torture and the traitor's doom — to be hanged, taken down alive, and disembowelled — the laity who suffered death had for their training the discipline of home and family life, the daily round of domestic duties, the practice of prayer and charity. They died for the love of the Mass, these martyrs of the laity, for their loyalty to the old religion, the Faith of their forefathers, and for their active assistance to the priests on the English mission. They were found all over England and among very various occupations. Young and old they went gaily to the scaffold and mounted the ladder with firm tread, always with words of forgiveness on their lips. Never were they mixed up in politics, these sixty martyrs, neither were they involved in any of the plots and conspiracies — real or false — that Walsingham so readily detected.

For Walsingham had his spies everywhere; even in the very seminaries and in Rome itself. And these spies, after the accustomed manner of their trade, were as often as not *agents provocateurs*.

We may identify a few of the men and women who died at Tyburn and elsewhere. The quality of the resistance can thus be proved.

Thomas Sherwood was but a youth; not learned, but hoping to be a priest. He came of Catholic parents. His father had left Oxford rather than take the oath of the queen's supremacy; his mother died in prison after fourteen years' confinement. Sherwood would have been left to die of starvation in prison, but instead the government brought him to the rack and finally to Tyburn in 1578 because he would not say that Elizabeth was head of the Church, and because the torturers could not make him tell where Mass was being said in London or the name of the priest who said it.

William Carter (1584), the Catholic printer — and it was no crime at law to print Catholic literature — was often arrested and imprisoned, for it was known he was the friend of priests. In the end he was condemned for instigating the murder of Elizabeth because in one of the books he printed

— *Treatise on Schism* — there was a quotation from the Old Testament book of *Judith,* an allusion to Holofernes and Judith, in no way related to the English queen.

Swithun Wells, who had a house in Grays Inn Lane, was nearly sixty; a plain country gentleman of Hampshire who stood by the old paths in religion. Edmund Gennings, a missionary priest and a convert from Anglicanism, was saying Mass in his house when Topcliffe and his men arrived. Two serving men, John Mason and Sydney Hodson, by sheer strength of arm, kept the invaders from entering the house till Mass was finished, and then overpowered, were quickly tried and condemned and sent to die at Tyburn, with two secular priests and another layman — all found in the house at the same time. But Wells was hanged at his own gate with Father Gennings, and on his way from his house to the scaffold at sight of an old acquaintance he recalled past days: "Farewell, dear friend; farewell, all hawking, hunting and pastimes; I go a better way." Then, at some insolences of Topcliffe,[4] he lost his temper, but recovered it and apologised. With few words of good-will and forgiveness Swithun Wells went steadfastly to death. His widow was carried to Newgate and there she remained, to die in gaol ten years later.

Two of the three Catholic women put to death under Elizabeth for conscience' sake were hanged at Tyburn. Margaret Ward, a young gentlewoman from Cheshire, risked her life, and knew that she risked it, when she took the rope hidden in a basket to Bridewell and so enabled Watson, a priest somewhat infirm of purpose, to escape. It was impossible for Margaret Ward to deny that compassion had moved her to the work of rescue. Equally im-

[4]This Richard Topcliffe was employed by the privy council with the full approval of Elizabeth "to torment priests in his own house in such sort as he shall think good." That was after the proceedings in the torture chambers in the Tower had become hateful to all but the depraved in London. Topcliffe could thus indulge his lust of cruelty and take his pleasure in the pains of his victims without let or hindrance, and be well paid in the bargain. It does not appear that he was governed in his conduct by a zeal for Protestantism. He was merely what we would call to-day a sadist, whom the government found exceedingly apt for their work.

possible was it for her to express regret for what she had done or promise to attend in future the Protestant church service. Torture and scourging could not break her will, but they brought her paralysed and crippled to the journey to Tyburn. A young Catholic Irish waterman, John Roche, who had helped to get the priest away, with a secular priest and three other Catholic laymen were hanged with Margaret Ward, on August 30, 1588.

Mistress Anne Line, a widow, carried on the work of harbouring priests and providing a place in London for Mass to be said for many years after her husband's death, before she was arrested. She was swiftly condemned, and at Tyburn, where she suffered with two priests, one a Benedictine monk and the other a Jesuit, Anne Line told the crowd: "I am sentenced to death for harbouring a Catholic priest and so far from repenting what I have done I wish with all my soul that where I have entertained one I could have entertained a thousand" (1601).

James Duckett, bookseller and printer, was a north countryman — from Westmoreland. Nine years of his married life were spent in prison, generally for refusing to attend the Protestant church service. A friend, a Puritan bookbinder, finally betrayed him for printing and selling Catholic literature, and so sent him to his death at Tyburn. The betrayer also went to the hangman in the same cart on another indictment and when on the way from Newgate Mistress Duckett procured a pint of wine for her husband, James Duckett, in token of his full forgiveness, pledged the man who had betrayed him (1602).

Nicholas Horner, a tailor from Yorkshire, was hanged outside his own door in Smithfield (1590) "because that he had made a jerkin for a priest." The old tailor had proved himself to be a man of marvellous endurance. When he lay in Newgate on a charge of harbouring priests an injured leg had to be amputated, and he sat without being bound while the operation was performed.

John Rigby, who came of a good Lancashire family, was executed on the south side of the Thames (1600). His

treason was that he had been reconciled to the old Faith. He was but thirty, and the captain of the escort of soldiers that accompanied the hurdle greatly wondered at the chastity of his prisoner when Rigby mentioned that he was not only a bachelor but still a maid.

At York and at Lancaster, at Gloucester and at Canterbury, at Winchester and at Oxford, the Catholic laity were sent to the scaffold in those last twenty years of Elizabeth.

Margaret Clitheroe, an ardent convert, was but thirty years old when she was pressed to death at York (1586) rather than plead to the indictment and so involve her family in ruin. Her only reply to the sentence was: "This way to heaven is as short as any other." For the most part they were gentlemen of Yorkshire, yeomen and serving men, who were hanged at York for befriending priests.

At Gloucester (1588) it is a poor man, a glover, one William Lampley, who could not be persuaded that he did wrong in reconciling neighbours to the Faith they had somehow departed from, and was therefore hanged, whose name is recalled.

At Winchester, John Body, an old Wykehamist and New College, Oxford man, strove with the judge concerning the authority of Constantine the Great at the Council of Nicea. He denied that the queen's supremacy was no more than Constantine's. So they hanged him at Andover (1583). And at the Barditch at Winchester, a gentle old labourer, Ralph Miller, ignorant of letters but with a heart aflame for God and the saving of souls, was hanged (1591). On the way to the scaffold, his executioners tried to get Miller to save his life by showing him his eight children who would be left fatherless unless he promised to turn Protestant and attend the Anglican service. But the old man, the trusted guide of many a hunted priest, would not save his life by denying his faith and passed without bitterness to the gallows. A number of young women in court when Miller was sentenced called out that they too were Catholics and ready to die. The judge merely sent them to prison.

It was also at Winchester that a boy of twenty, Laurence

Humphrey, a convert, was executed (1593). His answer to the judge's sentence for treason — the hanging and the quartering and the rest of the horrible details — was in the spirit of Sir Thomas More: "And all this is but one thing — death."

A Catholic gentleman of Brill in Buckinghamshire, Thomas Belson, was hanged in Oxford with his honest servant, Humphrey Prichard (1589), for harbouring priests.

It was not even pretended by the prosecution in a single case that these sixty men and women — not all English, a few were Welsh and Irish — were mixed up with political conspiracy or interested in the question of the queen's successor. Neither the juries who found them guilty nor the judges who sentenced them suggested any offence but the treason of harbouring priests, or of reconciling lapsed Catholics, or leaving the Church of England for the old religion.

No Foxe extolled them to the nation as martyrs — these sixty; their deaths attracted scanty attention. The witness of these men and women was ignored by Protestant England and by the popular Protestant historians of England.[5] For it was a witness to the resistance on the part of the common people to the Protestant uniformity of the Church of England worship imposed by law. These men and women who were put to death in the twenty years of persecution were quite undistinguished in the spacious days of Elizabethan literature. In the era of commercial enterprise on the high seas, of an expanding empire and famous seamanship, they were insignificant beings "their life esteemed madness and their end without honour."

They did not die as patriots in war against Spain, or as conspirators against the crown; they died because they believed the Faith of the English people for a thousand years to be the true Faith, the religion of their forefathers to be the true religion. Simple unlettered folk for the most part,

[5]But it is remarkable that J. F. Green in his *Short History* should say, in the face of these sixty executions, that "no layman was brought to the bar or to the block under its provisions," i.e., the acts of 1581–1585. Less remarkable that Professor G. M. Trevelyan in his equally popular *History of England* should abstain from mentioning that Catholics suffered death under these acts.

these sixty martyrs could not see that in the faith of Luther, or the religion of Calvin was the truth; that the Church of England was the true Catholic Church, the new Protestant service authorised by law a divine ordinance, and the Mass an idolatry.

Though the popular histories of England are silent concerning the names of the Catholics who died for conscience' sake under Elizabeth, it is impossible to estimate the resistance to the Elizabethan settlement of religion and the nature of that resistance, or to appreciate the response to the missionary work of the English clergy who came from Rome and Douay, unless these sixty deaths are remembered.

The publication in 1582 of an English translation of the New Testament, printed at Rheims and known as the Douay Version, is also a notable event in the campaign of resistance. (The complete Douay Bible was not ready till thirty years later.) It was the work of Gregory Martin, a graduate of St. John's, Oxford, who did not enter Douay till 1570. The Church of England had its "Bishop's Bible," and when in the reign of James I the Authorised Version was published, reference was made in the original preface to the Rheims New Testament. Nearly three thousand passages in all in the Authorised Version agree with the work of Gregory Martin.[6]

Now, for the first time, Catholics in England had a printed New Testament in their hands. A second edition was ready in 1600, in spite of the prohibition by the government of its introduction into England, and the resistance was strengthened.

The Catholic martyrs do not figure in popular history, their very existence is denied or ignored. It is otherwise with the Catholics who did conspire and plot to restore the old religion and to seek a Catholic sovereign as Elizabeth's successor. All history books make much of them. That Walsingham knew all about these plots and plotters, and at

[6]See *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible*, by Dr. J. G. Carleton, 1902.

the right moment could always lay his hands on the conspirators — as he did — is not so frequently pointed out.

The priests and laity who suffered for conscience' sake under Elizabeth and are held by Catholics to be martyrs were engaged in a spiritual warfare. Prayer was their only weapon. They sought the return of England to its old Faith, as Catholics in the twentieth century pray "for the conversion of England." It is true that a certain number of priests faced at their trial with "the bloody question" — would they in the case of invasion by a Catholic power support that power? answered frankly that they would. But many doubted, and others said "No." It is equally true that when at last Philip's armada sailed up the channel the news was not received as glad tidings by Catholic recusants. No prayer for the success of Spanish arms is recorded, nor any word that suggests such success was desired in England. While Mary Stewart lived, politically minded Catholics counted on a successor to Elizabeth who would restore the old religion, and they certainly made plans for removing Elizabeth, a sovereign whom the pope had declared excommunicate and deposed, and placing Mary Stewart on the throne. Pope Gregory was badly misinformed as to the condition of England. He fancied, as Persons the Jesuit and Cardinal Allen did, that the queen of England was the one obstacle to the return of the country to papal obedience, and that Catholics were strong enough to rise and drive her from the throne if they had sufficient help from abroad.

Pope Gregory pictured England as a land where a Catholic people groaned under a tyrant whom they longed to get rid of. Which was very far from the truth. For Elizabeth was immensely popular with the multitude, and wherever she went she was greeted with cheering. But Gregory XIII — ardent in his services to the Counter-Reformation and the fulfilment of the concilar decrees of Trent — was a political nonentity, and Cecil knew it. The papal help given for the invasion of Ireland was a futile waste of men and money.

Both Allen and Persons cared for England, their private letters reveal it, as warmly as did any Elizabethan Englishman. It was not to make their native land a province of Spain — as Cecil and Walsingham alleged, and the Protestant multitude believed — but to give it back the religion it had been deprived of, that Allen and Persons and the priests they sent on the English mission strove; and for that alone. And Allen and Persons — but not the seminary priests in England — were ready and willing that force should be used to overthrow the Protestant ascendancy. But who would supply the force? Calvinism not Catholicism was the growing power that threatened the thrones of kings. Already in Scotland it had cast out its queen and within fifty years would in England depose and slay her grandson, Charles Stewart.

It was, then, no startling novelty suggested — the violent dispossession of the sovereign and the seizure of the crown by a successful usurper. So had the Tudors come to reign after Bosworth Field. English history was full of the violent deaths of kings. But the Catholic recusants who desired Mary Stewart for queen had no means for effective conspiracy. They were but a handful, and Philip of Spain, anxious for the safety of his Netherland dominions, would do nothing while Mary lived.

Protestant conspiracy successfully deposed James II in 1688 and placed William III, a Dutch Calvinist, on the throne of England. It also succeeded in excluding the heir to the throne on the death of Anne, and importing George I, a Lutheran from Hanover, who could not speak English, and making him king of England. Protestant and liberal historians extol these conspiracies because — after the event — it is held that English trade and constitutional liberty gained by the proceedings. The conspiracies against Elizabeth failed and were bound to fail, not because the conspirators were Catholics plotting against a Protestant sovereign, but because Walsingham, Elizabeth's secretary of state, was as resolute in his Calvinism as his enemies were for the

old religion, and his means and resources were ample for defeating all plots and plotters against the throne.

Mary Stewart, kept strictly under lock and key, was a very moderate anxiety to the government while Elizabeth lived. To Walsingham and the men of passionate Calvinistic conviction in the house of commons it was the thought that on the death of Elizabeth Mary Stewart might be queen that angered them. An intolerable notion; since it would mean the bringing back of the Mass and the undoing of all that had been done to establish Protestantism in England. To Burghley, and the bulk of Englishmen, who conformed without enthusiasm to the Church of England, Protestantism did not mean Calvinism but a national religion identified with patriotism and the prosperity of the country. Catholicism was the enemy because it meant subjection to the pope; and the pope meant Spain and the inquisition.

Mary Stewart was a Catholic. That was the head and front of her offending. When she took refuge in England, a sovereign fleeing from rebellious subjects, had she been a Protestant, the queen of Scots would have been afforded an honourable welcome, for Elizabeth had no liking for John Knox with his "Blast against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," and at that time was the last person to sympathise with rebellion. Not at once did she recognise the deposition of Mary Stewart. It was many years before she openly countenanced the revolt in the Netherlands. But the queen of Scots was a Catholic and would not be turned from her faith. By the falsehoods of forgery, known as the casquet letters, she was held to be a criminal — though never brought to trial — for close on twenty years. By the perjury of false witness she was condemned to death; for no written evidence did Walsingham produce that the queen of Scots had conspired against the life of Elizabeth. And to this day no such evidence has been produced. All the years of her long imprisonment Elizabeth and Cecil would not allow the queen of Scots to leave England. Nor would they prefer

any charge against her; until it seemed necessary for Mary Stewart to be killed, for fear of Elizabeth dying first.

That Mary Stewart conspired to win liberty for herself, after some fifteen years' imprisonment, was admitted. That she conspired against Elizabeth was entirely unproven. Nevertheless she had to be put to death because she would not renounce her faith; and while she lived hope lived in the breasts of English recusants.

Walsingham and the Calvinists were fearful of the revival of the Catholic Faith in England. Burghley and the honest Protestants held Mary Stewart to be a source of danger to the country, a source of internal weakness, when England was no longer at peace with Spain.

Elizabeth shrank from killing a woman who had been queen. But she also shrank from the suggestion of a successor; and who but Mary Stewart could succeed?

The queen of Scots had only to turn Protestant and freedom and the crown of England were hers. She had but to put politics before conscience. It seemed to Mary Stewart, as it seemed to priests and laity who died for their faith under Elizabeth, that it profited nothing to gain the whole world and lose one's soul, and she chose the headman's axe. Walsingham insisted upon it, Cecil advised it, the parliament clamoured for it — Elizabeth signed the death warrant. Men might vainly plot the murder of Elizabeth; Pope Gregory XIII might have desired the removal of the Queen of England from her throne; Elizabeth herself defeated her enemies by killing the woman represented as a present rival and an inevitable successor to the crown of England.

Walsingham had already got the son of Mary Stewart to agree to his mother being killed, if the throne of England was secured to him on the death of Elizabeth. James VI of Scotland, James I of England, was a Protestant, and to kill his mother and put the son on the throne was to make England safe for Protestantism.[7] The transaction is unique

[7]Courcelles, the French ambassador, wrote to the king of France at the time of Mary's execution, that James would not attack England, even though his mother were executed, unless England attempted to deprive him of his right to the succession.

in the stained annals of the Protestant Reformation in Great Britain. The crown of England was to go to a Scot in return for a son raising no objection, more than a nominal protest, to the execution of his mother. But that son, parted from his mother in infancy, had been brought up by his mother's enemies and traducers.

Mary Stewart must needs be slain because she was a Catholic. James, her son, who consented to the slaying, must be made king because he was a Protestant. The privy council imposed James on the English people and Protestantism was safe. The Elizabethan settlement of religion was placed beyond risk of disturbance, the Church of England securely planted; in no danger of being uprooted.

With Mary Stewart dead and Elizabeth sending troops to support the rising in the Netherlands, Philip of Spain delayed no longer. He would execute the pope's sentence on Elizabeth and restore England to the Catholic Church. But the time had long gone by when interference on behalf of English Catholics could be successful. The attempted naval invasion was defeated because the overloaded galleons of Spain were outsailed and outfought by English seamanship. The invincible armada, as Pastor shows,[8] was really not destroyed by hostile elements, as popular belief long imagined; though adverse winds wrecked many a retreating vessel on Irish coasts, so that few of its ships returned to Spanish harbours. This great victory at sea the English Protestants took to be another sign that God was on their side, and against the pope and Spain and the inquisition.

[8] *History of the Popes,* Dr. L. Pastor, edited by Ralph Kerr, Vol. XXII, pp. 61–66. Dr. Pastor says: "It was not the winds nor the seas that had brought about the destruction of the Armada, on which in the opinion of many the fate of Christendom seemed to depend; rather it was the superior mobility of the English ships, the greater experience of their commanders, and the greater efficiency and range of their guns, which, in the initial encounters, from July 30th onwards, and after the destruction of so many ships by night by the English fire-ships in the decisive battle of August 8th, forced the Spanish fleet into retreat" (p. 61).

On the same subject Meyer is quoted by Pastor as saying: "That a great naval engagement should die out of the popular imagination and give place to the impression left by the disaster wrought by the forces of nature; that storm and foam should take the place of the roar of cannon, and that to wind and wave should be ascribed what was due to the superior equipment of a fleet, finds no parallel in the history of modern warfare" (*Ibid.,* p. 65).

The defeat of the armada, like the papal excommunication, left Catholics in England worse off than before, for the Puritans demanded further measures against all fellow-countrymen who held to the religion of Spain and of the pope, the anti-Christ in Rome. A royal proclamation ordered stricter investigation by county commissioners and parish officers into the state of religious belief and Sunday observance throughout the country, and a weekly house-to-house visitation was enjoined for the ferreting out of the disguised and wandering missionary priests.

To excite a more bitter hatred against the seminary priests and stimulate the passionate distrust of the Jesuits as plotters and traitors, this same proclamation surpassed previous official documents by its description of the proscribed clergy. They were referred to as "a multitude of dissolute young men who have partly for lack of living, partly for crimes committed become fugitives, rebels and traitors"; they came "instructed in sedition," and "with ample authority from Rome to move, stir up, and persuade as many of our subjects as they dare withal to renounce their natural allegiance"; and they did it all — so the proclamation declared — "upon hope by a Spanish invasion to be enriched and endowed with the possessions and dignities of our other good subjects."

No wonder the "other good subjects," being Protestant, were moved to wrath when they read this proclamation and hastened to lay information and bring ruin on recusant neighbours with whom they had previously lived in peace.

The proclamation itself was partly provoked by the manifestos of Cardinal Allen and Father Persons; for the latter in especial, even after the defeat of the armada, continued to write of Elizabeth as the enemy of God and the Christian religion.

Persons at once replied to the libel on the seminary priests in England — and his pamphlet went all over Europe — by asking: "Has history since the memory of man, anything more wonderful to tell than of youths nobly born and wealthy for the most part, who could live quietly and com-

fortably at home, and who solely from zeal for the faith have left parents and friends, and all that is dear to them in this life, in order to go into voluntary exile, with such greatness of soul and steadfastness that they fear neither spies nor prisons, neither executioner nor instruments of torture for the sake of religion and the salvation of souls?" But he wrote in Latin, then still the language of Europe for educated men, and his pamphlet, although translated into German and French, and printed in English as a broadside, could not get the circulation and publicity enjoyed by a royal proclamation.

Besides, Persons was not content to vindicate the seminary priests; he was constrained to compare them with the clergy of the Church of England to the disparagement of the latter: "they are not descended from the dregs of mankind like your ministers of the Word, but frequently from noble families and wealthy parents, and I dare to say that in the three English seminaries of Rome, Rheims, and Valladolid, there are more flowers of nobility than among all your clergy at home."

This tone was not conciliatory; and when Persons wrote of Walsingham, but recently dead, as "well-nigh crazy," and likened the persecution of Catholics under Elizabeth to the affliction of Christians under the Roman emperors, it did not help the plight of English recusants or conduce to the safety of the hunted seminary priests.

In fact, Persons widened the division among English Catholics — clergy and laity — without lessening their pains. And the Catholic resistance was necessarily weakened by the division.

Persons to the last dreamt of a Catholic successor to Elizabeth, and schemed for a Spanish Infanta, for Philip it seemed had Edward III for an ancestor. The dream was idle as the scheme was vain. For this idea of a Spanish ruler for England was exceedingly obnoxious to most English Catholics.

Secular priests — notably William Watson and John Mush, the former fiercely, the latter temperately — challenged the

Jesuit's arguments, criticised the Jesuit methods of controversy, and did not hide irritation at the aggressive prominence of the Jesuits throughout the English mission. By 1596 the secular clergy working in England were between three and four hundred, while the Jesuits were but twelve. Yet the latter, by all contemporary account, were far more powerful and far more successful, and were certainly more hated by the government. The efficiency of the Jesuit has been conceded by friend and foe and this very efficiency did not promote unity. The division widened and went deeper than a difference of training and discipline. It was the old difference of opinion and of conviction concerning the relations of Catholics to their native land and its government.

Cecil and Elizabeth had all along distinguished between the priests of the Marian régime and the missionary priests from overseas. The former, deprived for refusal to conform to the Church of England, were not for the most part harshly treated — provided they kept out of the way. In twenty years death had very considerably reduced their numbers, and where they were imprisoned, and could pay for the privilege, a good deal of liberty was allowed. At Wisbeach, sufficiently remote in the fen country of the diocese of Ely, some thirty of these clergy lived in comparative comfort — at their own charges, of course — and with freedom to practise their religion. The governor of Wisbeach castle permitted these clerical prisoners to go in and out, to visit in the town and to receive visitors. In the years when the penal laws were sending the missionary priests and layfolk to the scaffold, the latter for harbouring priests and the former for reconciling lapsed Catholics or making converts, the imprisoned clergy at Wisbeach were not hindered in any way from ministering to co-religionists who desired their ministry, nor from instructing and receiving converts.

But the life of the Wisbeach prisoners, elderly and old-fashioned English clergymen, seemed far too easy and relaxed for the Jesuit, one Father Edmund (whose real name was Weston), sent to spend his "imprisonment" in their company.

Strife entered the walls of Wisbeach castle after Father Edmund's arrival. Some of the imprisoned priests supported his plea for a common and stricter habit of life; others only desired to be left in peace. It seemed outrageous to the latter to talk of rules of discipline and obedience to elderly clergymen in prison for conscience' sake.

Finally, when Father Edmund was actually to be elected rector of the Wisbeach clergy, thus bringing secular priests under an obedience to a Jesuit, resentment spread beyond the walls of Wisbeach castle, and divided clergy and laity. The division was fostered deliberately by the Elizabethan government. Appeal and counter-appeal went to Rome, while the Elizabethan government cheerfully encouraged the division of foes active and passive.

On the whole, the secular clergy and the majority of lay recusants, with a pride in England's triumph over the armada, sharing with their Protestant neighbours the new feeling of national greatness and as keenly patriotic, withal entirely faithful to their religion, were utterly averse from any foreign interference and heartily opposed to the bare suggestion of a Spanish ruler for England.

The Jesuits (and a certain number of the Douay priests) were for making England once more a Catholic country, thereby breaking the Protestant power that was already the strongest influence in Europe against the Counter-Reformation. England Protestant helped Huguenots in France and Calvinists in Holland. England once more Catholic, and both Protestantism in France and Holland would collapse and German Lutheranism soon be extinguished. To the Jesuits it was also manifest that the methods of many of their missionary colleagues and of the surviving Marian clergy would never restore the Catholic Church in England. It would accomplish nothing but the saving of a remnant. They were but as men tending a sacred fire and keeping it from going out. What was needed was to spread the fire till it consumed the land.

The enthusiasm and the efficiency of the Jesuit matched in mortal combat the passion and resolution of the Puritan

Calvinist. In both the contest was for something that was more than England. And in both, for all the high internationalism, the desire to bring all men to the salvation of the Faith, or to the doctrine and discipline of Geneva, there was deep attachment to the native land. Neither Jesuit nor Calvinist loved England less for thinking of Europe more. Each strove in his own way: the Jesuit for the restoration of the old religion; the Calvinist for its utter uprooting. The former trusting to spiritual weapons alone, the latter relying on political agencies.[9]

The Douay priests and the recusant laity thought little of Europe. Their main concern was England. Persecution could not destroy their patriotism. In the blackest years this patriotism was no more uprooted than was their faith. Being so thoroughly English they understood their fellows who conformed to the established church, and, where puritanism did not intrude, Catholics and Anglicans were on good terms — to fight side by side against Puritans when it came to civil war. After the death of Mary Stewart they had no illusion of a return to Catholicism. At the best they hoped for toleration. And the king who had bargained for the throne by agreeing to his mother being killed, disappointed them. To heal the division among Catholics a bishop was needed; it was said by Jesuit and secular. Lack of episcopal authority was the cause of disagreement. Eventually Rome appointed not a bishop but an archpriest, and the contro-

[9]It was in no sense a political motive for which the Jesuits so freely laid down their lives, whether in Elizabethan England or in any other missionary country, where that supreme sacrifice might be demanded of them. There was but one reason and that was their enamoured devotion to the cause of Christ and of His Church. Referring to the crucifixion of Jesuit missionaries on "Japanese crosses" Father Thomas Hughes, S.J., the veteran American historian, thus compares the number of Jesuits martyred by the Japanese with those who suffered in the British Isles.

"Hanging Jesuits, drawing and quartering them in Tyburn fashion, and putting their heads on city gates, though rather monotonous as compared with the outcome of Japanese genius, nevertheless served to put English Jesuit-baiting for Christ in the very first rank alongside of the Japanese — these latter running up a cheery score of sixty-six Jesuits despatched, while they of the English tongue and British Isles just topped that with seventy-one Jesuits, of whom they or the world was not quite worthy" (*The Historic Bulletin,* St. Louis University, Jan., 1934, p. 37). *Ed.*

versy continued to reach bitter lengths in the reign of James I. Only in the face of persecution were the Catholic ranks united.[10]

Echoes of the controversy can be heard in the letters and declarations of Catholics in England even till the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1831.

The disagreement weakened the Catholic resistance; it does not obscure the results of the missionary work of the priests from Douay and from the Jesuit college in Rome.

To estimate with any hope of accuracy the total number of Catholics and Protestants in the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign is impossible. With 42 priests from the college in Rome and between 200 and 300 from Douay, some 140,000 lapsed Catholics were recovered, or converted from Anglicanism to the Catholic Church in England; and this in face of a persecution, at times relaxed and at other times exceptionally ferocious. The total population in 1600 was rather more than four millions. Unless it is believed that Catholics steadily fell away under the Stewarts, which is improbable, for the number of priests had certainly increased, it may be reasonably estimated that avowed Catholics numbered no more than 150,000. In 1670, when the total population was nearly five and a half millions, the Catholic population was 200,000 with 800 priests.[11]

Reduced to a minority, the missionary priests saved this minority of Catholic recusants from extinction. The Elizabethan settlement of religion, with its established Church of England, remained unacceptable for all time to the Catholic minority.

So it also remained unacceptable to a Puritan minority, striving throughout the reign to bring the Church of England to the likeness and pattern of Geneva. Thomas Cartwright, the ablest as he was the most learned and respected

[10]For the enduring bitterness of certain of the Catholic secular clergy to the Jesuits in England see *The Jesuits and the Popish Plot,* by M. V. Hay (London: 1934).

[11]*England and the Catholic Church under Elizabeth,* by Professor A. O. Meyer (1916), should be consulted in reference to these figures.

of the Puritan divines, looked hopefully for the reform of Anglicanism to the Geneva model. He was appointed Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge and elected to a fellowship at Trinity on his return from the continent in 1570, but was doomed to disappointment within a year when deprivation of office followed his refusal to conform to the prescribed Anglican usage. Cartwright's "Admonitions to Parliament" brought a stiff rebuke from Whitgift, but no relief to non-conforming Calvinists. Then, in 1580, Cartwright published his *Book of Discipline,* with its plan for classes, synods, and conferences — provincial and national — organised for the building up of a self-governing church, presbyterian in government, within the established church; and for this Cartwright was duly imprisoned without harshness.

Cartwright's disciple, Browne, often claimed as the founder of English Congregationalism, retired to Holland to agitate for the separation of Church and State. But in 1593 the followers of Browne attacked the Anglican episcopate with a wealth of invective in the *Martin Marprelate* tracts. In the end, Penry, the printer and part author, and two other avowed separatists, Barrow and Greenwood, were executed under the act of 1571.

The effective answer to the Marprelate pamphlets came not from the bishops but from two Elizabethan writers, Nash and Lyly, who had as great a command of abusive language and far more wit.

Bancroft, the first of the high-church Anglicans, realised the significance of the Puritan revolt, and its menace to the Elizabethan settlement, and in the year when Barrow, Penry, and Greenwood were executed published his *Dangerous Positions,* with its argument that the Calvinist teaching threatened society. What really angered the non-conformist Puritans was the fact that the very bishops who held the Calvinist doctrine, and the queen's chief ministers of state (for Cecil for political reasons expressed sympathy with convictions he did not share), had consolidated a settlement of religion that made the church subordinate to the state.

Elizabeth outlived her two most capable ministers, Burghley and Walsingham, but their work was accomplished before they died. England had become the foremost Protestant power in the world, and from the Protestant path the bulk of her people were not to be turned. The history of the Protestant Reformation in England is closed at the death of Elizabeth. In rather less than forty years a Catholic majority had dwindled to one-thirtieth of the population; a Protestant minority had become the rest of the nation. Protestantism wore the crown and filled both houses of parliament and the seats of judges; its religion was established in the national church; its patriotism was eloquent in the great literature we call Elizabethan. The Catholic trumpet was silenced. The trumpeters of Protestant patriotism blared furiously for many a long day.

Under the banner of Protestantism England was to become a world-wide power, a far-flung empire. Its ships would travel every ocean, its armies fight in every land. Its manufactures and commerce would bring riches beyond the dreams of avarice. Its poets and novelists would win immortality for English letters.

Protestants, viewing with satisfaction the use made of that world-wide power, the character of its imperial rule, the benefits of its commerce, and the glory of its literature, have held the Reformation justified.

Chapter VIII
THE REFORM IN SCOTLAND

Summary

The contest short and decisive ✦ politics closely related to the change in religion ✦ three chief factors ✦ depravity and ignorance of the clergy ✦ resolute action of a group of the nobility ✦ influence of John Knox ✦ Catholics a majority ✦ uncompromising character of Calvinism ✦ Counter-Reformation ✦ abiding strength of the kirk.

CHRONOLOGY

Scotland

1546 Wishart burnt for heresy. Cardinal Beaton murdered at St. Andrews.

1557 First Scottish covenant drawn up by the "Lords of the Congregation."

1560 Abolition of papal authority by decree of Scottish parliament. Saying or hearing Mass made a capital offence. Discipline and doctrine of Geneva established in the new kirk of Scotland.

Chapter VIII

THE REFORM IN SCOTLAND

Short and decisive was the contest that resulted in Scotland in the overthrow of the old religion and the establishment of the reform of John Calvin, a national kirk on the model of the church of Geneva. As in England so in Scotland the hostility between the Catholic sovereigns of France and Spain gave Protestant reformers their opportunity and they took it and triumphed. Small in numbers, but immeasurably stronger in energy and conviction and with a leader in John Knox such as English Protestants never had, the Scots Calvinists forced their will on the majority. The Catholic opposition in the hour of crisis simply crumpled up, and in sheer enfeeblement, surrendered and melted away.

Politics in Scotland became inseparably conjoined with the question of the Protestant reform.

The traditional ally was France, the traditional enemy England. While Cardinal Beaton lived the Catholics of Scotland were the recognised patriotic party, relying on French aid to maintain resistance against the English. As the "new learning" gained adherents, especially in the cities of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and St. Andrews, and the news of Henry VIII's anti-papal policy and of his dissolution of the religious Orders reached Scotland, the rising Protestant party began to look to an alliance with England. When war came and the king of England announced his overlordship, the success of Henry's armies in the latter years of his reign, and the devastation of the lowlands by the invading forces made the notion of alliance with the hated enemy of centuries repulsive. After peace was made by Henry with France and Scotland, Protector Somerset brought an army against the Scots and burnt Holyrood and Leith; and again postpone-

ment of alliance with England was inevitable. The treaty with Elizabeth (1560) and the consequent withdrawal of the French garrison was the significant change of policy, leaving the way clear for the Calvinists to bring in the reform.

Three causes can be named to account for the immediate success of the minority and the utter rout of the Catholic majority:

1. The depravity of the clergy.
2. The resolution of the nobility favourable to the reform.
3. The preaching of John Knox.

The witness to the depravity of the clergy cannot be shaken. The loose living of bishops and priests means low spiritual life, indifference to the truths of religion, lack of interest in learning, an absence of all zeal for the progress of the Kingdom of Christ.

There was no considerable burning of heretics in Scotland in the years when the Lutheran doctrine found its first disciples. As early as 1525 the Scots Parliament had passed an act forbidding Lutheran writings to be brought into the country, but the few cases recorded give the victims as former members of the regular clergy; monks and friars who had broken their vows and become advocates of the "new learning." An ex-Benedictine was burnt at St. Andrews for heresy (1533); two Dominican friars and a canon regular were burnt at Edinburgh (1539), and a Franciscan at Glasgow in the latter year. The prior of the Dominican house at Perth, having decided in favour of Luther, preferred to depart for England and thence to Denmark rather than face a trial for heresy at home. When the earl of Arran became regent in 1542 two ex-Dominican friars entered his service. A popular preacher in Edinburgh (1536) was a married ex-Carmelite, chaplain to the earl of Argyll. It is not to be presumed that the bulk of the regular clergy and the religious Orders of women were more estranged from their calling than were the religious of England at the time of the dissolution. In both countries a few ex-monks and ex-friars were conspicuously Protestant, and with discussion and division concerning the "new learning" came demoralisation.

James V, when he opened parliament in 1541, the year before his fatal journey to Solway Moss, urged amendment of morals on the clergy, and lamented that the negligent and disorderly lives of so many clerics brought the Church into contempt.

But with numerous illegitimate sons of the greater nobility in possession of bishoprics, how could it be otherwise than that a relaxed morality should follow among the secular clergy?[1] The decree of the Scottish provincial council (1549) forbad the parochial clergy to keep their illegitimate children in their parsonages, forbad them to promote their illegitimate sons to benefices, and enjoined the clergy to wear suitable dress. Other decrees of this council ordered the higher clergy to observe the fasts of the Church and to remove persons of notorious bad character from their service. Abbots and priors were urged to labour for the reform of monastic discipline.

Another council at Edinburgh (1552) called attention to the small number of people present at Mass on Sundays, the general neglect of the divine mysteries, and the ignorance of the clergy. To improve the situation a catechism was to be drawn up and read at Mass on Sundays for the instruction of the faithful. Hamilton, the archbishop of St. Andrews, drew up a catechism accordingly and it was judged admirably suitable for its purpose — the enlightenment of Catholics concerning what they believed. But the archbishop when he issued this catechism was constrained to warn the clergy that they must take pains to understand it before venturing on a public reading in church; therefore he advised a private reading at the least.

For all that by common consent it was an excellent catechism, an adequate response from the clergy was needed; a vital effort to set the house of God in order and to instruct the faithful. Had this catechism been well taught, Calvinism could hardly have swept the country and demolished the old

[1] "The reason why her church eventually fell so suddenly and so completely was unquestionably the irregular state of her higher clergy both secular and regular." J. H. Pollen, S.J., *The Counter-Reformation in Scotland* (1921).

landmarks. But the clergy, bishops and priests alike, were for the most part unable to make the effort required, and the appeal of the last provincial council held in Edinburgh (1559) for immediate reforms in the Church came too late. The council itself was but poorly attended, and in the same year the clerical disorders in Aberdeen were attributed to the irregularities of its bishop who was urged to keep better company, and avoid the society of heretics and gentlewomen. In brief, the Catholic clergy of sixteenth-century Scotland did not edify their fellow countrymen. Incompetent to answer the hostile critics of the "old religion," and without affection for the Faith of their forefathers, they succumbed when the testing time came. The austere ethics and irreproachable domestic life of the preachers of the reform darkened the shadow of clerical irregularity and invited comparison with the concubinage and flexible morals of bishops and dignitaries. There is no persuading the mass of people that priests and clerics generally can justly be exempt from the moral code prescribed for the laity.

The moral failure of the clergy and no less their mental shortcomings are a negative cause of the change in religion. The resolution of a group of nobles, comparatively small in numbers but of immutable convictions, was the forcible and positive influence, with John Knox for the instrument.

They were no more addicted to loyalty to the crown, the Scottish nobles, than were the English or French nobility of the fifteenth century. The absolutism of the Tudor sovereigns was unknown in Scotland until James VI talked of divine right and acted on the assumption that as the Lord's anointed he could do no wrong. The Scottish Reformation was not the work of kings. Before the new learning had entered the country a section of the nobles regarded the ancient alliance with France as disastrous when at Flodden it resulted in slaughter. It seemed that war with England was rather for the sake of France than for Scotland's benefit, and Solway Moss confirmed the opinion. When it appeared that to make peace with England was to break the alliance with France, and to exchange for the Catholic ally a Protestant

power, many of the nobility not profoundly interested in religion were favourably disposed to the change of policy. But Cardinal Beaton and the greater nobles held to France. The anti-papal proceedings in England under Henry VIII and Edward VI were no inducement to men, unattracted by the new teaching, to make friends with an enemy so long hated as Scotland's foe.

Cardinal Beaton was the obstacle to the progress of the Protestant extension. Among the smaller Scottish chiefs, among grave townsmen and a populace eager for destruction, the Protestant preaching won recruits and a band of conspirators agreed that Beaton must be murdered. George Wishart, the most acceptable preacher of the Protestant doctrine, before Knox returned, was held to have joined the conspiracy, for it soon came to be known that the cardinal's life was marked for assassination. Crowds, inflamed by Wishart's preaching, certainly attacked the Dominican and Franciscan priories in Dundee and destroyed the Abbey of Lindores. Wishart was brought to trial for heresy and burnt. On that the conspirators, two of them at least very strongly pro-English and believed to have been in the pay of Henry VIII, sought out the Cardinal at St. Andrews and murdered him in his palace, 1546.

Reprisals followed, for the Catholic nobles still held the upper hand, and for the next ten years the restive minority were powerless. But the Protestant doctrine was gaining ground among a people untaught in the old religion and disaffected from its clergy. The nobles themselves were uncertain as to which religion promised the greater advantage in this world and the next. The widow of James V, Mary of Lorraine, had been made regent in the place of the earl of Arran, who was a waverer in religion. This regency, which lasted till the queen mother's death in 1560, was a period when the Protestant party grew stronger and bolder, and the Catholic nobles weaker. Beyond Archbishop Hamilton's catechism nothing was done to keep back the rising tide against the old religion. Catholic bishops remained sunk in apathy. Occasional burnings for heresy — the last of these

took place in 1558 — did not help matters at all. The regent could no more than denounce and threaten and trust to her French soldiers. It was impossible for her to trust the Scottish nobles, who on their side were still more alienated by the appointment of Frenchmen to offices of state.

The Protestant party became increasingly impatient. The wealth of the old Church, the lands and treasure of the religious Orders, were, in the eyes of Protestant reformers, wrongly held and wickedly wasted. A covenant, the first of the Scottish covenants, was drawn up in 1557 by a band of nobles that included the earl of Argyll. It denounced the old religion as the "congregation of Satan," and declared that Protestant worship must be allowed in private houses. This was the first definitely Protestant manifesto, the covenant of the lords of the congregation, and it was followed in the next year by a petition to the regent for concessions favourable to the Protestant advance. The queen regent would not yield the points demanded, and yet she was unable to suppress by force of arms the revolt of the lords of the congregation. The latter were now in open rebellion, for John Knox had returned to his native land preaching "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon," to the utter discomfiture of all who sought the paths of peace, and to the complete confusion of bishops and nobles ill-prepared for the onslaught that overwhelmed the old Church, the Church of their forefathers; the Church of St. Columba and St. Ninian, of St. Margaret, and of Bruce and Wallace.

Within two years the lords of the congregation had crushed their opponents, and the bishops, shepherds of the Catholic flock, had gone down in shame and silence before the tempestuous oratory of John Knox with his iron discipline of Geneva. There was no one to stay the torrent, no one to contrive a middle course. Calvinism was a far easier thing to grasp than the Anglicanism of Elizabethan England. It invited no doubtful acceptance. It set up no comprehensive and inclusive church. The Calvinism of Knox was within the compass of the simplest mind. And it was preached with an energy and passion that was irresistible.

Yet it was but a minority that carried out the revolution of 1560. Three-fourths of the nobility and the queen, then about to return to Scotland, were Catholic. "We should probably not be far from the truth in conjecturing that the Catholics numbered three to one of the population."[2] The minority included the middle-class citizens, the lords of the congregation, and John Knox; all burning with zeal to destroy the old and build up the new in religion. The majority, without leaders and with faith grown cold, succumbed. Without the backing of the citizens, and the armed resources of the Protestant nobles, Knox would have been powerless. Without Knox neither citizens nor nobles could have won so decisive a victory.

The treaty of Edinburgh, in the year of the revolution, ended the French régime for ever, while the influence of Elizabeth and Cecil was brought, with English money, to bear on the Protestant side. When in the next year Mary Stewart arrived, she came to a Scotland already committed to Calvinism. John Knox had carried the day, but he was fearful till his death, twelve years later, that his work would be undone; fearful lest the religion he more than any man had imposed on the land would not survive the attacks of its enemies.

John Knox had once been a Catholic priest, ordained at St. Andrews. As a young man of thirty, strongly combative with the self-will of youthful manhood, he had turned against his Catholic training and revolted from the Catholic education he had received, renouncing his priesthood. Convinced that the mind of God had been revealed to him, he henceforth held the Mass in abhorrence. But the Lutheran teaching was not for this ex-Catholic priest, this man of the long face, with its narrow forehead, big nose, and large mouth. Calvin was his prophet; Geneva, his holy city. Luther's gospel was too vague and indefinite for the hardy Scot, and so he turned to Calvin, the clearer-headed Frenchman. It lacked the Old Testament spirit that for Knox was the

[2]P. Hume Brown: *Surveys of Scottish History* (1919).

foundation of Christianity. The murder of Cardinal Beaton was condoned by him as a "godly fact"; more than twenty years later he expressed approval of the murder of Rizzio, the faithful secretary of the queen of Scots. Nor was John Knox singular in this recognition of murder as a necessary expedient for the removal of objectionable persons. Philip of Spain favoured the assassination of William the Silent, whom he counted a rebellious subject. Walsingham recommended to Paulet, the governor of Fotheringay, the private slaying of Mary, queen of Scots, in preference to her official execution. The paid assassin was busy in the royal circles of sixteenth-century France.

When Knox was taken by the French with the rest of the garrison at St. Andrews, in the year after the archbishop's murder, and sent a prisoner to the galleys at Toulon, his religious convictions were not tempered by this treatment at the hands of Catholics, nor was his mind sweetened. Instead of returning to Scotland he stayed in England, as the welcome guest of Cranmer, and became a royal chaplain to Edward VI. But there was much in the Edwardian worship and the Edwardian Book of Common Prayer distasteful to John Knox. Though he enjoyed freedom as a preacher, he refused to accept the bishopric of Rochester unless a more drastic discipline superseded the lax constitution of the Church of England.

Pride, John Knox admitted, was with him all his life. The persuasion that God had doomed the greater part of mankind to eternal death, and an overweening confidence in his own election as a chosen vessel called to establish the kingdom of God on the lines laid down at Geneva by John Calvin, ruled his will. But Knox was no place-hunter, seeking for the good things of this world. His uncompromising spirit allowed no acceptance of bishoprics save on his own terms. And these terms were manifestly impossible to Cranmer, for they could not be adjusted to the Book of Common Prayer.

Fearless in the pulpit, Knox had never at any time the

mind to die for his convictions. England was no place for him when Mary Tudor ruled. Violent harangues against the Mass and the pope, with exhortations to overthrow altars and tear down images of saints, were regarded with disfavour, and if persisted in were likely to bring the deliverer of such harangues to a heretic's death.

So at Dieppe and at Frankfort and at Geneva Knox preached, until by 1559 it seemed that events were rapidly changing the relations of Catholics and Protestants in Scotland, and that his place was in his native land. At Frankfort, in the meantime, Knox had increased considerably the troubles of English exiles, by denouncing the emperor, Charles V, as "no less an enemy to Christ than ever was Nero."[3]

With Knox back in Scotland, the mightiest preacher in all the land and the most effective, pouring out, it seemed as from the mouth of God, what he fervently declared to be the most urgent message of God, declaiming against the papal authority as the rule of anti-Christ, the Mass as an idolatry, and threatening all who held to the old religion with the fate of idolaters in this world and the next; summoning good Protestants, as to a holy war, to the extermination of the enemies of the Lord of Hosts, the day of the Lord appeared truly at hand — to the small body of professed Scottish Calvinists.

No one withstood the preaching of this indomitable man. Not Flodden, but Solway Firth was the Catholic rout. Protestant mobs entered on the work of destruction without let or hindrance. Monasteries and priories were sacked and laid in ruins at Perth, nor did all their inmates express resentment. At Dundee the abbey and bishop's palace were destroyed. And all this in 1559, while the queen mother was still regent.

It was now the time to put in order that change in religion which the Calvinists were resolved to have. So in

[3]See the *History of the Troubles at Frankfort, 1554.*

1560 the estates of the realm met in Edinburgh. It was not an exclusive assembly of the great lords and bishops. There were never so many of the smaller lords and barons come together. The Protestant feeling was predominant. With the feeblest of protests from the bishops present, this parliament, calling upon Knox and some five other ministers to bring forward their confession of faith, abolished the papal jurisdiction, forbad all the religious practices of Catholics, and not only forbad the saying or hearing of Mass, but made the offering of the Holy Sacrifice a capital offence, since for them the Mass was idolatry, and God had strictly commanded the Israelites of old to put down idolatry and slay idolaters.

Knox's *First Book of Discipline* followed, setting out the Calvinist confession of faith. Again the Catholic bishops, silent and afraid, let judgment go by default. This apparent acquiescence on the part of the episcopate was fatal to the Catholic cause. The religious settlement was accomplished by this parliament, or assembly of the estates, and was to stand the test of time. The weakness of the Catholic Church in Scotland and the decay of the Catholic Faith were manifest. Bishops, abbots, and priors received pensions — amounting to two-thirds of their former emoluments — and retired. Some conformed and held office in the new kirk, as by far the greater number of the parochial clergy did,[4] while others were content to live in quiet obscurity.

Few priests or layfolk were put to death for holding to the old religion. There was nothing in Scotland like the long and persistent persecution that prevailed in England.

Four priests were condemned to death for saying Mass in 1569, but were reprieved. Two priests were hanged in 1573–4.

The *Book of Common Order* — based on the Order of Geneva — fixed the new form of public worship. It consisted

[4]The old priests who conformed became "readers" in the new kirk. They were not preachers, indeed were incapable of preaching. But they held salaried office, and read prayers and passages from the Old and New Testaments.

of the sermon, of prayers that were in the main political discourses composed by John Knox,[5] and of the reading of passages from the Bible. Periodically the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, according to the fashion of Geneva, all partakers of the duly sanctified bread and wine to be seated. Instead of a priest offering sacrifice at an altar, a company at a table was desired. The doctrinal agreement permitted variety in the order of service. Old and familiar phrases survived. Then, under pressure, the Lord's Prayer disappeared from the Sunday service. Its repetition was held to savour of Rome — extempore prayer was more acceptable. The doxology *Gloria Patri* was held to be objectionable, as not directly in the New Testament phrase. It was therefore excluded.

Admission to the ministry, by laying on of hands, followed election and examination. But on the question of patronage and appointments there was hot and bitter dispute, and the strife was but healed in our own times.

The immense predominance of the Old Testament, its authority to have the force of law for a nation's ethics, is the distinctive feature of the Scottish Reformation. The Sunday must be called Sabbath, and solemnly observed as a day of penance, disassociated from all joy, with strict abstinence from levity of occupation and from every form of recreation, the latter being held more sinful than manual labour, a breaking of the Sabbath. It was in fact the nearest approach to a Jewish Sabbath that could be devised, the Presbyterian observance of the Lord's Day.

In Protestant England the saying of Mass was a political offence, to be punished as high treason. In Scotland the Mass was a moral offence — idolatry; to be punished as God commanded the Jews to punish idolaters. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Knox when he declared that for

[5]Prayers to be "used in the churches of Scotland in the time of their persecution by the Frenchmen," and "Thanksgiving unto God after our deliverance from the tyranny of the Frenchmen, with prayers made for the continuance of the peace betwixt the realms of England and Scotland."

him "one Mass was more fearful than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm of purpose to suppress the whole religion." In both countries it was the Mass that mattered. Whenever and wherever Mass was said, there the priesthood of the old Church survived, and there existed a living witness to the One, Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. Denounced as traitors in England, as idolaters in Scotland, priests still offered Mass and the Catholic Church lived.

If the pursuit of the priests of the old religion was less severe than in England, and the executions for religion far less numerous, Scottish Calvinists had another outlet for the gratification of unholy pleasure in the pain of fellow creatures. For a hundred and fifty years after the revolution of 1560, witches were burnt and drowned in Scotland, and the women thus tortured and tormented all suffered because Old Testament authority could be quoted for not permitting a witch to live.

The reformation in England proposed no change in morals, though a considerable change was wrought. In Scotland moral offences were crimes against the law of the land, so that adultery was made a capital offence. Again, Old Testament authority could be quoted for the decree, though scarcely the Gospel of the New Testament. The moral outlook was vitally changed and character as vitally affected, when in place of the old works and penances of the Catholic Church, attention to business was made the necessary thing for Calvinists; an obligation to grow rich superseded the reverence for poverty as a counsel of perfection.

Of course Calvinism, with its insistence on the elect being few and the number of the saved very strictly limited, fostered the spirit of intolerance, as it encouraged a sense of right doing in the exploiting of the ungodly. Knox, certain in his own mind that no "idolatrous papist" could be of the elect, and that there was no salvation in Scotland outside the kirk, since all the elect were necessarily members

of the kirk, could not bear any suggestion of God's goodness to all mankind. "You make the love of God common to all men," he wrote to confute Lutheran opponents, "and that do we constantly deny." It was His elect and His elect alone "we say that before all beginning God hath loved."

The fierceness, the power and passion, the unwavering conviction of John Knox gave the Scottish people a religious settlement so strongly fashioned that it has lasted as long as the Elizabethan settlement in England. Resistance to the settlement there was none — though one Catholic schoolmaster, Ninian Winzet, would not be browbeaten nor allow the Calvinist claims to pass unchallenged. Winzet sought to bring Knox to open debate, and published a defence of the old Faith, but finally retired abroad.

The coming of Mary Stewart to Edinburgh meant that a Catholic sovereign reigned over Scotland, that in the royal chapel Mass was said. This was a source of irritation to Knox and his followers, who put their creed before all else. Mary had pledged herself to do nothing to disturb the religious settlement accomplished before her arrival, and to this pledge she was entirely loyal. To the Dutch Jesuit, de Gouda, sent by Pope Pius IV, in 1562, the queen explained that she could send neither bishops nor an envoy to the Council of Trent. As for the bishops living in retirement, they would have nothing to do with de Gouda and would on no account go to the Council of Trent.

The queen's policy of peace and toleration won no support among a nobility occupied with intrigues for power. Mary Stewart received no help from her Catholic husband, Darnley, who joined in the conspiracy and treachery against the queen. In the end this conspiracy and treachery of men who thought lightly of murder overpowered her. When the queen escaped to England it was to fall into the hands that had successfully backed the Protestant forces in Scotland.

James VI, baptised into the Catholic Church but taken from his mother and brought up in the austerity of Calvinism, hated the religion of the ascendancy. He saw in

Presbyterianism a danger to monarchy, and yet never came near that return to the Faith that some of the Catholic lords imagined. With favourites and privy councillors, some Protestant and some Catholic — the latter nobles, who under threat of pains and penalties more than once denied their faith and accepted the discipline of the kirk — James gave no assistance in the few short years of the Counter-Reformation. Jesuit priests, however, were in Scotland in 1585, indefatigable in the work of reconciling lapsed Catholics and ministering to the remnant that was steadfast to the old religion. Walsingham's spies knew of the presence of these dauntless missionaries in Scotland, and pressure was brought to bear on James to order their banishment. The king, now encouraging Catholic favourites, then shifting his ground and preferring Protestants, but never losing sight of his goal, which was the throne of England on Elizabeth's decease, felt his dependence on English help irksome but unavoidable.

For a few years only did the counter-reform of the Jesuit mission prosper, while Catholic hope in a restoration ran extravagantly high. The faction fights of the earls, the disastrous victory at Glenlivet, when the earl of Huntley supported by the Jesuit clergy and with the blessing of Pope Clement VIII defeated the larger forces of the Protestants in the belief that James would welcome a successful Catholic rising, ended the dream. The awakening was a grim return to reality. The kirk acted with the full consent of the king in its revenge for Glenlivet. The three Catholic earls, Huntley, Angus, and Errol, fled overseas — to be pardoned on their return and on their abject submission to the kirk. Everywhere the Catholics were driven into hiding. All houses where Mass had been said were levelled with the ground.

The north remained the Catholic part of Scotland long after the establishment of the kirk. Though under coercion the earls and lesser nobles (but not their wives and daughters) surrendered, it was in the north and in the highlands

that many a Catholic family could be found, when once again missionary priests arrived from the continent. In the cities, as in England, a few Catholic families of unobtrusive piety were left alone. Their numbers were too small and their activities passed unnoticed. The Catholic minority was negligible; not to be taken into account. The kirk throughout the land was the pillar of the new faith of Scotsmen. Nobles, scholars, peasants, all subscribed to the Presbyterian confession of faith and acknowledged the discipline of the kirk.

Disputes and disruptions concerning patronage, schisms of Cameronians and Covenanters, vain attempts to impose bishops and an Anglican service — all these troubles the kirk of Scotland faced and defeated. Its credal basis shrank in the moderatism of eighteenth-century divinity. John Knox would hardly be at ease to-day in the Presbyterian worship, for the nineteenth century brought an æsthetic revival and a high-church movement, as well as an increasing liberalism in theology.

The kirk endures. It is the organised religious establishment of Scotland. The sovereign of Great Britain attends its services, and, without interfering in its management, is its supreme governor.

A Scottish Episcopal church, now in full and recognised communion with the Church of England, but long a very Cinderella in the Anglican family, emerged after the Reformation to satisfy the spiritual wants of the few who would neither stand in with the Presbyterian majority nor yet give allegiance to the old and proscribed faith of Scotland.

Catholics, in 1934, have their episcopate, their religious Orders, their abbeys and convents. With a Catholic population steadily swollen by immigration from Ireland, the Presbyterian majority lessens.

Scotsmen have carried the faith and morals of Calvin and Knox far and wide. In every land where they have made their home, Presbyterian churches are found. The name of

John Knox is as little honoured in many of these congregations as Cranmer's name is held in repute in high Anglican circles.

Nevertheless it is John Knox, with his ruthless will, his pride in the assurance of being God's minister, his power of speech, his clear perception of Calvin's moral code, that the kirk of Scotland and the Presbyterian churches throughout the world must salute as their founder.

Chapter IX

THE REFORMATION IN WALES

Summary

The work of Englishmen exclusively ✦ no native Protestant movement ✦ Wales reduced to poverty by the destruction of the monasteries ✦ the English bishops ✦ no Welsh Protestants put to death under Mary ✦ the case of Bishop Kitchen ✦ strength of Catholic feeling shown at the martyrdom of Richard Gwynn and the secular priest, William Davies, under Elizabeth ✦ failure of the Elizabethan settlement in Wales ✦ the language difficulty ✦ relapse into apathy and loss of all religion ✦ the established church never the church of the Welsh people ✦ later events ✦ the position to-day.

CHRONOLOGY

Wales

1535–6	Wales joined to England by act of parliament. All Welsh monasteries dissolved.
1555	Three men burnt for heresy — probably Englishmen.
1560	Book of Common Prayer translated into Welsh.
1584	Bl. Richard Gwynn executed at Wrexham: First Catholic to suffer in Wales.
1588	Bible translated into Welsh.

Chapter IX

THE REFORMATION IN WALES

The Reformation in Wales was the work of Englishmen exclusively. It had no popular support. No Welshman can be named as a preacher of the "new learning"; no Protestant minority in Wales established the faith of Luther, or the doctrine and discipline of Geneva.

In England a Protestant minority, by the might of the crown and privy council and with the consent of parliament, established, by acts of supremacy and uniformity, the religion of the Church of England. In this minority many historic names can be recalled from the days of Henry VIII till the Elizabethan settlement.

In Scotland it was also a minority that set up the kirk of the reformed religion with its Presbyterian order. But it was a Scots minority, and it had John Knox for its protagonist.

The destruction of the old religion in Wales by the English government simply left the land desolate. The Welsh were a Catholic people and an independent people, until the Welsh dynasty of the Tudors brought them under complete subjection to the crown of England. Henry VIII failed to establish his overlordship of Scotland, he succeeded in making Wales a province of England, in bringing its people under the laws of England, its clergy under the supremacy of the crown. He was also successful in dissolving the houses of religion in Wales, in casting adrift all monks and nuns and annexing much of their property to the crown. The bishops of Bangor and St. David's supported Henry, the deans and chapters affirmed, as their English brethren did, all that was required of them. But the enforcement by law, of English as the official language, was a more troublesome matter.

Rowland Lee, bishop of Lichfield, and Henry's president

of the council of Wales, had proved himself a useful man to Wolsey in the suppression of smaller monasteries. With untiring energy he hanged all rebels and robbers and called it peace.

At the dissolution the bishop of St. David's was the Englishman, Barlow, sometime prior of Augustinian canons, who had just been translated from St. Asaph and already agreed with Cranmer concerning the "new learning" and the royal supremacy. His own consecration to the episcopate is still in doubt today, as it was early in the seventeenth century, for no record of it exists, and he himself expressed the opinion that the royal warrant was sufficient without consecration.

Barlow conciliated Henry by disavowing his Protestant opinions. But to the Catholics in his diocese, he was plainly a heretic, for he preached against the practices and doctrines of the Catholic Church, causing bewilderment and an irritated confusion of mind without making converts to the "new learning." Nor did he endear his Protestant opinions to the people by helping himself to the plunder when the monasteries were sacked, nor yet by asking Cromwell to remove the see of St. David's to Carmarthen. In fact Barlow was a foreigner in Wales and he knew it. Disliking his position, his Protestant teaching falling on unreceptive ears, he had to wait till Henry was dead before getting the wealthier bishopric of Bath and Wales.

Barlow was the first of the ex-Catholic bishops to be married. He had five daughters, and as all of them married Protestant bishops, money was needed for their dowries.

Wales was a land of small monasteries and of many sacred shrines. When the shrines were destroyed the very canons of Llandaff took what they could of the valuables from the shrines of Teilo and Dubricius, rather than let all the plunder be carried off to England. The impoverishment of the country was far graver after the dissolution of the convents and monasteries than in England or Scotland. Landowners and bishops joined in the general pillage, tithes were alienated, and many of the smaller manors were sold for trifling sums.

All the schools that belonged to St. David's and to other monasteries were in ruins, or were necessarily closed for lack of means to support masters. Barlow took the lead off the bishop's palace to raise funds.

There was little to take when Edward VI was king, but greed's piercing eye found unconsidered trifles to pick up. There was no pretence, as there was in England with the men who followed Northumberland, that it was all in the interests of Protestantism that churches should be despoiled.

How little the new doctrines appealed to the Welsh people was seen in the reign of Mary. Three men only were burnt for heresy in Wales and not one of them was a Welshman. Ferrar, once, like Barlow, an Augustinian canon and a prior in the Order, then a chaplain of Cranmer's, and Barlow's successor as bishop of St. David's, was, according to his contemporaries both covetous and dishonest. For all his Protestantism Ferrar was imprisoned in Edward VI's reign, and he was still in prison on the accession of Mary Tudor. Ferrar was a bishop. He declined to withdraw or retract any of his Protestant opinions, and refused to give any assurance that would hinder him from preaching against the return of the Mass and the papal authority. He was burnt at Carmarthen in 1555. Contemporary evidence does not suggest that the Welsh people were shocked at the execution.

Of the two English laymen burnt, William Nichol perished at Haverford West, and Rawlins White at Llandaff.

Kitchen was bishop of Llandaff. He had been a Benedictine of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, and was the last abbot of Eynsham. As he made no trouble at the dissolution, but surrendered his abbey, signed the royal supremacy, and repudiated the pope, Henry made him bishop of Llandaff in 1545. And this bishopric Kitchen held throughout the troubles of Edward's reign and the Marian restoration. Kitchen was an old man, over eighty, when Elizabeth came to the throne — nearly as old as Tunstall — and he was not minded to be disturbed. He opposed in the House of Lords the Elizabethan legislation, and after that took the oath of the royal supremacy and lived in retirement in his Welsh

diocese till his death in 1563. Kitchen was the last man to want anyone burnt. Every opportunity was given to White during his imprisonment to escape and remove elsewhere. Finally, as White would neither leave nor promise obedience, he was burnt.

Elizabeth's accession brought no immediate change as far as the bulk of Welsh Catholics was concerned. Sir Henry Sidney, Elizabeth's president of the council of Wales, was a Protestant, but an English Protestant; an Anglican not a Calvinist from Geneva. And Sidney's policy was the queen's policy and Cecil's, no bloody persecution of Catholics, but their gradual extinction. In the main, the Catholic clergy in Wales conformed to the law as they did in England. Those who would not conform were deprived. The new Prayer Book was a stumblingblock to the progress of Anglicanism. For the new *Book of Common Prayer* was in English, and peasants and small landowners knew no English, nor did any Anglican clergy arrive who could speak Welsh. As a matter of fact, the benefices that were vacant when priests were deprived were given to Englishmen, who remained in England. So, too, it was with the bishoprics. The bishops appointed to Welsh sees lived in England and were non-resident.

Parish priests might conform; they confessed they were "too old to be put to school." The Protestant doctrine, not being preached, won no converts. Only as the old priests of Mary's reign passed away and their places were left unfilled, a cloud of unbelief slowly came over the land. The people sank into apathy, losing the Catholic tradition, losing even the Christian faith, retaining memories of pre-Christian worship and clinging to superstitions of pagan origin, when the realities were gone. The greater landlords identified themselves with the English, attending the Church of England service and dropping all intercourse in the Welsh language. They never carried their tenantry, the farmers and peasants, with them as the English landlords did.

Catholicism was admittedly the faith of the majority of the Welsh people as late as 1580. The loyalty to the old

religion was recalled when Richard Gwynn, the first Catholic to die in Wales for his religion, suffered martyrdom in 1584. It emerged more conspicuously in 1593 when a secular priest, William Davies, was slain at Beaumaris. By that time the Puritans had also gained ground among the gentry and were busy in the towns. Gwynn was a Montgomeryshire man and a convert from the Protestantism of his boyhood. From St. John's, Cambridge, he came back to Wales, and kept a school at Overton, in Flint. There he was first marked as a recusant, for nothing would induce him to attend the Anglican service, and so was driven to a fugitive life for some fifteen years. It was in Wrexham market that Gwynn, identified by the vicar of the parish, once a Catholic priest, was arrested. Gwynn, who was married and the father of three children, made his escape from custody and for more than a year evaded his enemies. Few there were who would have betrayed him. When the privy council letters to the bishops of the established church, issued in 1580, ordered greater activity against all schoolmasters who were recusants, since these were employed in "teaching and instructing youth" to the hindrance of Protestant education, a Welsh Puritan, a mercer of Wrexham, recognised Gwynn and, helped by his servants, captured him.

Four years Gwynn lay in prison. He was tortured, starved, and finally after much perjury dragged on a hurdle to the scaffold at Wrexham, to die a traitor's death in 1584. His wife, who was brought into court to hear him sentenced, invited the judge to take her life as well. They had but to give a little bribe, she said, to the false witnesses and they would bear evidence against her. These false witnesses were Welshmen, while the sheriff himself but recently a Catholic, and the local feeling were strongly against them. The jury summoned to convict Gwynn deliberately stayed away from the court.

Gwynn was offered his freedom if he would but acknowledge the queen as head of the church in her dominions. The condemned man explained on the scaffold that he willingly acknowledged the queen to be the lawful queen of Eng-

land. He was her poor subject, and he prayed for her. He would cheerfully have departed from the realm and lived among rocks and desert places if they would but let him. "But nothing will serve." He died forgiving all who had compassed his death. His last words were in Welsh, *Jesu, trugarha wrthyf* — "Jesus, have mercy on me."

There was no suggestion that the treason was anything more than non-attendance at the Anglican service. But an example had got to be made and Richard Gwynn was a man of parts and as fervent in spirit as he was strong in will. A poet, too, he wrote in Welsh, composing five of his poems during his long imprisonment. In these verses he complains bitterly of the results of the Reformation in his native land, of the churches closed, of the trestle-boards placed where the altar stood, of the men put in as curates — "tinker, pedlar, cobbler, weaver, piper, butcher, cook" — while the landowners who accepted the Church of England lived on the endowments.

The sympathies of the people were displayed when Richard Gwynn was executed. Nine years later, when a Welsh secular priest, the venerable William Davies, who came of a good Denbighshire family, was hanged at Beaumaris, there was a still greater display of Catholic feeling. Father Davies was a young man of twenty-seven when he returned to Wales, a seminary priest from Rheims. All the rest of his life — eight years — was spent in his native land, and chiefly in Anglesey, reconciling Catholics who had fallen away from the old religion, and strengthening the faith of a scattered flock. Arrested, with four young men whom he was assisting to cross to Ireland, and brought before the Anglican bishop of Bangor, Davies and his companions declined to take the oath acknowledging the queen to be head of the church. Davies admitted frankly to the magistrates that he was a seminary priest and that he wished to bring back as many Protestants as he could to the true Catholic fold. After that there was nothing to be done but send them all to Beaumaris Castle, and there the gaoler connived at this seminary priest saying Mass every day and

at the people visiting him from all the countryside. So for William Davies the work of his ministry went on from his prison cell. Many times he might have escaped and only the knowledge that this would have got his gaoler into trouble kept Father Davies from taking the step.

At the trial the judge would not do more than send the young men to prison, but there was no means of evading the death sentence for a seminary priest who had returned to Great Britain. Nevertheless the president of the council of Wales was anxious that this young seminary priest should not be put to death. He had but to be persuaded to make outward submission to the established church and liberty was assured. His death was not desired if his opposition to the established order would but cease. It was only when every effort to win some expression of conformity had failed that Davies was sent back to Beaumaris. The people would have rescued him on that return journey if the priest had not forbidden it.

The judges made a last appeal six months later. The prisoner "might not only save his life but also he might look for encouragement and promotion if he would consent to go once to the Protestant church." Even this simple act of acknowledgement was impossible, the prisoner explained. There was nothing left but to decree the sentence of high treason and order its penalty to be enforced. The people of Beaumaris could not hinder the sentence, but at least they would be no party to its execution. The sheriff could get neither ladder nor rope for the gallows, and no man would do the hangman's job. Nor could anyone be found to let his land for the execution. Weeks went by; again the people wanted to rescue their priest, and again he would not have it. At last the sheriff got two men from Chester to undertake the execution. One was a butcher who wanted forty shillings, the other a convicted thief, who was promised his freedom as payment. The inhabitants utterly refused all communication with these two hired men from Chester, and the sheriff hid them in a barn for safety's sake. At last the execution was carried out, and William Davies died with

a blessing on his lips, and a prayer for the return of his native land to the Faith it had received a thousand years before.

There were many more Welsh clergy and layfolk to die for the old religion in the next hundred years, some on the scaffold, others in prison; some in Wales, more in England.

The Elizabethan settlement failed in Wales chiefly because of the difficulty of enforcing the English language on a people who preferred to stick to their native speech; but also because the Welsh people did not take to the new doctrine, and had no one to preach it.

Not till 1588 was the Bible translated into Welsh, and at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 it was resolved that "Wales be planted with schools and preachers as soon as may be."

The Church of England in Wales was the church of the wealthy, of the landowners; it was as divorced from the mass of people as the similar church set up in Ireland. Only in Ireland, a Catholic hierarchy remained and a Catholic clergy existed, so that the Catholic Faith never perished from the land. In Wales, with the dying out of the Catholic clergy, the passing of the old religion was inevitable; and nothing took its place. The clergy who conformed preached Anglicanism without the fervour of strong conviction. It is recorded that as late as 1633 Catholics still went on pilgrimage to St. Winifred's well, in North Wales.

In the eighteenth century, a Calvinistic Methodism that preceded Wesley's revival and followed Whitefield rather than Wesley, captured the hearts of the Welsh people. Its founder was Howell Harris. At the beginning it was, no more than Wesley's, a separatist movement from the established church, and until as late as 1811 the Calvinistic Methodists still occasionally attended their parish churches. In that year, 1811, they formed themselves into a separate and distinct religious organisation. From that time onwards, Welsh Nonconformists, or Free-churchmen, have been divided and sub-divided into numerous bodies, united only in a common hatred of Rome and of resentment against

the privileges of an established church. The latter was disestablished by the British parliament in 1908, retaining its buildings and the old cathedrals, and recompensed financially for its loss of endowments. Its bishops have long ceased to be the favoured English ecclesiastics, who lived in England and rarely ventured into their dioceses. Its rectors and curates are as Welsh as their congregations.

The old religion has never had many adherents in Wales since its slow but mortal passing. It has its archbishop and its bishops and clergy in the twentieth century, its churches and houses of religion. To the holy well of St. Winifred, at the place called Holywell in Flintshire, Catholics once more go on pilgrimage, as they did in the later Middle Ages and seek in faith to be healed. The country people in Wales, and the townsmen for the most part, remain nominally of Free-church membership; the gentry support the church that is in communion with the Church of England. Cardiff has the characteristics of a modern city, where all faiths flourish, and unfaith spreads.

EPILOGUE

Liberal and Protestant historians, loyal to the tradition of the whigs, have habitually treated the sixteenth-century Reformation as a great far-off event, long desired and led up to by the less enlightened Middle Ages; a landmark in the evolution of the race, the beginning of all modern progress, a necessary and happy change without which the obvious greatness of Britain would never have been assured.

They glory in the one plain fact of the Reformation, the abolition of the pope's supremacy, and the establishment of Anglicanism as the religion of the Church of England, as a triumph for liberalism. Because the "old religion" of the Church of the papacy was by law proscribed, and because only by subscription to Anglicanism and membership in the Church of England was it possible for Englishmen to enjoy the rights of citizens, to practise at the bar, or be chosen for the bench, to enter the universities, or take part in the administration of public affairs and in the government of their country, the Reformation is accounted a great good.

Anglican ascendancy is identified for more than two hundred years with England's greatness — manufactures, trade, commerce, extension of empire, famous soldiers, sailors, and men of letters. It is all owing, we are told by Protestant historians, to the religion of the Church of England — and no other being established; nonconformist Puritans being merely tolerated, and Catholics only allowed to exist under grave disabilities.

So our liberal historians would have us believe. And the odd thing is these same writers are equally sure that the episode of Cromwell's protectorate, with its temporary suppression of Anglicanism and eclipse of the Church of England, is another landmark in the progress of British prosperity. In

fact, every successful revolt, in England, is the right thing and must make for the increase of civilization; otherwise it would not succeed. And when the liberal historian speaks of British prosperity he means an increase of material comforts; just as when he alludes to civilization he means the customs and habits of the ruling class of Englishmen.

But is this theory true? Does the patient research of students, do the historic studies pursued merely for the love of truth and with no political end to serve, justify this interpretation of the facts?

Generations of "educated" men and women in Great Britain, and throughout the British commonwealth, have been nourished on this fantastic explanation, this really extravagant interpretation of our rough island story, that makes the downfall of the Church of the papacy and the establishment by acts of uniformity of the religion of the Church of England, the key to all subsequent progress. But is it true that England became a great power, the greatest Protestant power in the world, because it was governed and its laws administered exclusively by members of the established church for nearly three hundred years?

And if not true, why should Englishmen perpetuate a nonsensical falsehood by continuing to accept as textbooks and standard works the doctrinaire liberal histories that, associating the political, commercial, and literary greatness of Britain with the establishment of Protestantism, make that greatness depend on the Reformation? *Post hoc ergo propter hoc* is a popular fallacy; perhaps the most favoured fallacy of a people apt to look askance at logic.

Three hundred years and more have passed since Elizabeth died, leaving England with a national Church, its religion firmly established by law; with a remnant of Catholic recusants, lying under heavy penalties, served by priests fugitive and proscribed, but refusing to be exterminated; with a Puritan minority, then already a majority in parliament, and growing in strength and resolution.

To-day the Church of England is still predominantly the

national church; its clergy minister to English people throughout the world and are active in the mission field.

The remnant of Catholic recusants, reinforced by immigrants from Ireland, and now estimated as equivalent to one-twentieth of the total population of England, has recovered a place in national life, and is swiftly gaining in numbers on the Presbyterian majority in Scotland. No longer excluded from political activity, adherents of the "old religion" are elected to the House of Commons, sit in the House of Lords, and engage in local government. The work of Cardinal Allen and the martyred seminary priests is justified; for England once more has its Catholic hierarchy, its abbeys and cathedrals, convents and priories, and numerous schools and colleges.

Has this "second spring" of the Catholic Church in England hindered "progress"?

Puritan nonconformists, now generally called "Free-churchmen," have multiplied their societies, built up unions of Congregationalists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, organized Free-church councils. To their ranks have been added a seventeenth-century Society of Friends, an eighteenth-century Methodism, and more recent bodies; notably the Salvation Army, the largest of the later developments of Protestant nonconformity. With the removal of all disabilities the nonconformist has shown a marked aptitude for politics and figures in government. As with Anglicans, so with the nonconformists; Free-church clergy minister to their flocks in all parts of the British Commonwealth and labour extensively in the foreign mission field.

Is England the worse for this recognition of Puritanism? Has it proved injurious to religion, as the Oxford Tractarians believed it would?

The Church of England still retains, as its directory of public worship, the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer. Its ministers are ordained as priests and deacons, its bishops consecrated according to the Ordinal of Edward VI. To the Thirty-Nine Articles of Cranmer and Parker every Church

of England clergyman is required to give some form of assent. Fundamentally unchanged, the Church of England is externally transformed beyond recognition in its services and its ecclesiastical furniture. Choirs perform with distinction not only the traditional Anglican music but the compositions of the masters of music. Hardly a village church but has its Sunday choral service and its organist. Ceremonial has returned; the holy table stands where the altar once stood, and is ornamented as the rubric requires. The tablets of the Ten Commandments, enjoined by Elizabeth, are no longer conspicuous. The Table of Affinity, ordered by Archbishop Parker to be posted up in every parish church at a time when nobody knew who might be married to whom, when the canon law was abrogated and dispensations within the prohibited degree were no longer to be obtained — now appears modestly framed near the door.

Inspired by the Oxford Movement a good proportion of Church of England members, lay and clerical, seek to repudiate the whole Elizabethan settlement of religion, to restore the Catholic practices of pre-Reformation England, and bring in the Catholic devotions and ritual that have flowered in the post-Reformation Catholic Church. But always this is done without any desire to restore the papal supremacy of the pre-Reformation Church, and often in defiance of the Anglican episcopate. Anglo-Catholics, as they prefer to be called, labour strenuously to persuade their people that the Anglican "order of the administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" is the same as the Mass, and that an obligation binds faithful Christians to assist at this service every Sunday.

Another school within the Church of England is frankly sceptical of miracles, does not conceal its doubt concerning various articles of faith recited in the creeds, and enjoys the satisfaction of having undermined for Protestants the authority of the Bible as an infallible book. This "liberal" Anglican school, by publishing with approval the destructive textual criticisms of foreign scholars and by enlarging such criticisms

with sympathetic note and comment, has very widely succeeded in relegating the Bible to a lower place. It is to be read — when it is read — not as the inspired word of God but as "literature." "Liberal" Protestants, Anglican and Free-church alike, also steadily depreciate the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. For the gospel of the "enlightened" modernist is that the Christ is to be admired as the great example, rather than adored as the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind.

A very small, but quite articulate, group within the Church of England, holding the doctrine of the Protestant reformers for revealed truth, still confesses the Mass to be an idolatry and the pope anti-Christ.

The Church of England, through its bishops, generally refuses all consideration of unity conditioned by submission to the see of Rome, and looks for unity rather with Lutherans, members of Eastern churches, and the Protestant Free-churchmen. Nevertheless there has been a steady stream or trickle of converts from the Church of England to the "old religion" since the Oxford tractarians — and a few preceded Newman in 1845 — were received.

On the whole there is no evidence that Anglicans, however advanced their ritual and however closely they may in some parishes approximate to the customs and practices of Catholics, have any desire to become "Roman Catholics." The vernacular service has an immense hold on the regular and devout members of the Church of England. To imagine that there is any movement among Anglicans for the surrender of their wide liberties in exchange for the discipline of Rome is entirely vain. The work of Thomas Cranmer has endured. Attachment to the Book of Common Prayer is attachment to the Church of England. Religious experience has become the received test of the truths of religion. Truth is no longer objective for pious Anglicans. The Catholic Faith is true if we feel it to be true.

At the same time the Anglo-Catholics will on no account be called Protestant; though it is only within the past sixty years that Church of England bishops and their flocks have

supposed they are not Protestants, but members of the same church that was established when Pope Gregory sent Augustine to Canterbury. Bishop Jewel and the Elizabethan bishops who repudiated all continuity with the medieval *Ecclesia Anglicana* are themselves repudiated by their successors. It might easily happen that a future Anglican episcopate of modernist convictions would repudiate the Anglo-Catholic doctrine.

Recusant Catholics in England, who for one hundred and fifty years suffered death and imprisonment rather than separate from the unity that depends on submission to the Holy See, or disavow the faith of their forefathers and attend the Anglican service, enjoy in their descendants an unstrained loyalty to "king and country." The papacy might excommunicate a contumacious Catholic sovereign — and Elizabeth had come to the throne a Catholic — it never claimed the power to depose pagan or Mohammedan rulers. Therefore, in modern times, the papacy makes no claim to jurisdiction over non-Catholic governments. It but endeavours to protect its children from injustice and persecution.

For the papacy to-day retains the devotion of its subjects by spiritual might alone. Ceasing to exercise political power, the pope, decreed by the Vatican Council of 1870 to be infallible when speaking from the seat of Peter on matters of faith and morals, has a far stronger hold on the affections of his children in Great Britain than did the popes of the Renaissance and their immediate successors. The religious Orders, dissolved by Henry VIII and expelled by Elizabeth and her privy council, have all returned (except the one and only purely English Order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham), and with the Orders and Congregations of men and women of later creation far outnumber the monks and nuns whom Henry dispersed. The pupils in present-day Catholic schools and colleges, numerically exceed even more the boys of the monastic pre-Reformation schools.

The faith of twentieth-century Catholics is the faith of the Catholic remnant in the years of the Tudor and Stewart

persecution. The reforms ordered by the Council of Trent ended the many scandals and corruptions that could not shake that faith.

English Free-churchmen, proud to claim descent from Puritan Calvinists, have, except in the case of small and isolated congregations, completely thrown overboard the doctrine and discipline of Geneva. Neither is their attitude to the Bible that of their ancestors. So far from urging that in the Bible and the Bible alone is the sole rule of faith, and that in the Old Testament is full light and guidance, Free-churchmen are as critical in their Bible studies as Anglican modern churchmen. They would no more take Calvin's *Institutes of a Christian Man* as a theological and moral text-book, than they would accept the literal and verbal inspiration of the sixteenth-century translations as a fundamental dogma.

The utter and complete casting aside of Calvinism, as a code of morals and a Christian belief, has deprived Puritanism of its early unrelenting, uncompromising power of achievement; but it has also very considerably diminished the pains and penalties of human existence, and the sum total of earthly wretchedness. For it is difficult to name a man who has laid a greater burden of misery on mankind than John Calvin, the young French lawyer, educated by Catholic masters for the Catholic priesthood. Not only was Calvin responsible for the wars of religion, but his followers established his doctrine wherever they went; and wherever they had power they applied it ruthlessly. Even to the present day, wherever Calvinism may be found — and it is found and preached in remote and obscure places — there is still displayed the old ruthless pride, the pitiless tyranny, the unhappiness, and the inevitable falsehoods and hypocrisies that tyranny and cruelty breed. There have been sharper and more hideous cruelties inflicted by man upon his neighbour than the system named after its founder, John Calvin, but none for so long darkened the world with its monstrous travesty of the Christian religion or brought into so many homes a horror of the very idea of God.

The rejection of Calvinism by latter-day Puritans is as marked and as deliberate as the rejection of the Elizabethan settlement of religion by latter-day Anglicans.

Nevertheless, despite all doctrinal departures in the Church of England and in the free churches from Reformation standards, the Reformation has left its mark. Protestantism has fashioned the British character. The Sunday sermon displaced the Sunday worship at Mass when the "old religion" was put down. The implanted instinct to worship was inhibited and suppressed, but could not be uprooted. It has once more found expression in Protestant assemblies, chiefly in the form of hymn singing. But the sermon remains.

Sermons, lectures, and preaching were never so abundant, or so much in demand as they are to-day, A.D. 1934. Apart from the ordained and appointed clergy, preachers self-appointed, with or without followers and disciples, are plentiful in every city, exhorting indifferent passers-by to heed words of warning and of comfort, but rarely winning any encouragement. The subject of religion, and of the Christian Faith in especial, provokes discussion and testimony in the popular press and possesses an unfailing interest — quite to the astonishment of other Europeans, Catholic and non-Catholic.

Protestantism not only fostered patriotism in England and expenditure of energy on commerce abroad, it promoted the sense of insularity and a conscious sense of superiority over nations that did not have the happiness to dwell on an island. This feeling of insular superiority, with its glorying in the seamanship of Drake and Nelson, has been probably the greatest stumblingblock to any return to the Catholic Faith. Good-will and good nature do not allow the persecution of Catholics; and will readily admit them to a full share of the national life. But the prejudice exists that Catholics, by acknowledging the pope as their supreme head, are somehow foreign in their religion. With services in Latin instead of in English, and an Italian for their supreme head, it still seems to many an Englishman that Catholics are

partly foreign, and therefore not whole-heartedly attached to the British Empire.

This insularity developed a very strong individualism, considerable self-reliance, love of personal liberty, and suspicion of government interference. It also developed the exaggerated sense of the sacredness of private property, the notion that property possessed absolute rights. It was this notion that sent thousands, including young children, to the gallows for petty theft, under the shocking criminal code of the Protestant eighteenth century, and that allowed the shameful conditions of labour in factory and mine to remain so long unredressed.

The whirligig of time brings on its revenges. The unity of Christendom was broken in the sixteenth century, and the government of England declared itself on the side of Protestant reform. All this because certain doctrines of the Church were repugnant to a number of young men — mostly priests — impatient of abuses that it seemed the popes would not or could not remedy. Covetousness in alliance with pride carried the day. Breaking from the Church of the papacy, these young men set to work to devise a restatement of the Christian Faith, to draw up a fresh code of morals. They were so far successful that both a Protestant religion and a Protestant character were produced. The former to be preached in all parts of the world, the latter to exhibit a genius for universal trade and to assert a capacity for bringing the heathen under its rule.

The long existing, but now almost defunct, popularity of the Old Testament Scriptures with Protestants, accounts considerably for the English confidence in their right to conquer and hold possessions as the Israelites, God's chosen people, conquered and held. Similarly it stood with the Boers of South Africa. They were also a chosen people to whom God had delivered sovereignty over the native inhabitants. Scotsmen have risen and maintained a high estate wherever they have settled, chiefly because of the conviction of their own worthiness. No doubt a clannish feeling has

helped in the promotion, but the root of the matter is that through the teaching of John Knox the Scot is persuaded that he is of the elect; predestined, and therefore the fittest to command. He is by no means so sure that others are equally well favoured.

The Protestant rule of faith, everywhere weakened, has vanished in many regions. The original Protestant creed, that man is justified by faith alone and that all good works are vain, is not the message of the twentieth-century Protestant pulpit, though it may still be heard in unlettered communities, uttered by untrained ministers. German Lutherans no more stand by the Augsburg Confession than Presbyterians teach their children the *Shorter Catechism* or meditate on the *Institutes of a Christian Man*. The Church of England everywhere seeks to minimise the Reformation; to ignore the Elizabethan statutes that established the Book of Common Prayer and abolished the pope's authority; and either to insist on a "continuity" with the Medieval Church, or to pursue wider liberties of belief, and closer union with non-Episcopal churches.

The separation from the Church of the papacy is defended, though all the grounds that were held to justify the separation in the sixteenth century are repudiated — outside Protestant history books.

To-day it is the Church of the papacy that defends the Bible from the criticisms of Protestants, and requires of its children obedience to the Catholic creeds, while Protestants vociferously cry for religion without dogma.

To-day it is the same Church of the papacy, with its "old religion," its pilgrimages to shrines and holy places, its unshaken belief in miracles, that exhibits a serene confidence in the unchanging mercies of God, and an invincible faith, formulated in the ancient confessions. While without that Church men seek to accommodate religion to the discoveries and hypotheses of mathematicians, physicists, and chemists, or resort to faith-healing, to the credulities of spiritism, and new religions of American invention.

And to-day it is the Church of the papacy alone that

refuses all compromise on the moral law, while Protestants clamour for dissolution of marriage vows, urge that the fulfilment of procreation shall be frustrated, and propose the grossest interference with natural law on the plea of race improvement.

The individualism, the love of personal liberty, the self-reliance that were part and parcel of the Protestant teaching have departed with the Protestant dogmas. An ideal of the absolute state, as strong in its appeal as at the Renaissance, wins disciples. Protestant liberalism is powerless, diluted by agnostic replenishment; it is intellectually bankrupt. The papacy still points out that to God the things of God must be rendered, to Cæsar the things of Cæsar; that no form of human government — imperial, constitutional monarchy, republican, dictatorship — can override the eternal laws without disaster. For the knowledge and interpretation of these laws mankind depends on the Church of the papacy, in whose keeping God, the Lawgiver, has placed jurisdiction till the end of time. So Catholics believe.

If it seems that the forces arrayed against the Catholic Church of the papacy, the One, Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, have grown in strength since they outgrew the Protestant teaching and disavowed their Protestant antecedents, it is certain that hostile forces have often been far stronger in the past.

Nondum est finis. "Not yet is the end."

Protestants may pass more rapidly from Christian belief and from Christian morals and range themselves with open enemies — the Catholic Church of the papacy remains on the rock; and relies on the promises of its Founder.

The Protestant Reformation left its legacy of doubt, of loss of faith, of suspicion and hatred of Rome, and of self-reliance, personal resource, and somewhat blusterous patriotism; it in no way exterminated faith in the Kingdom of God, the conviction that Christ intended the unity of His followers in that Kingdom, and that in that unity alone is the peace of God's will.

All who pray daily that God's will be done, *sicut in caelo et in terra,* pray for the unity of Christians and for the coming of the Kingdom. Catholics of the Church of the papacy find that unity in the bonds of peace desired by all men and women of good-will — the peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ — within the One, Holy, Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of their obedience.

The story of the Protestant Reformation promises no hope of unity elsewhere.

FINIS

TABLES OF DATES

THE PAPACY

1513 Leo X (Medici)
1522 Adrian VI (Boyers)
1523 Clement VII (Medici)
1534 Paul III (Farnese)
1550 Julius III (Monte)
1555 Marcellus II (Cervini)
Paul IV (Caraffa)
1559 Pius IV (Medici)
1566 (St.) Pius V (Ghislieri)
1572 Gregory XIII (Buoncompagni)
1585 Sixtus V (Peretti)
1590 Urban VII (Castagna)

SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND

1509 Henry VIII
1547 Edward VI
1553 Mary
1558 Elizabeth
1603 James I

KINGS OF FRANCE

1515 Francis I
1547 Henry II
1559 Francis II
1560 Charles IX (regency of Catherine de Medici)

1574 Henry III — last of the Valois line
1589 Henry IV (Bourbon)

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY

1503 Warham
1533 Cranmer
1556 Pole
1559 Parker
1575 Grindal
1583 Whitgift
1604 Bancroft

KINGS OF SPAIN

1516 Charles I
1556 Philip II
1598 Philip III

A NOTE ON AUTHORITIES

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